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A GRAMMAR OF YAGARIA

by

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Dedicated to my friends,

the Yagaria people,

who taught me their language

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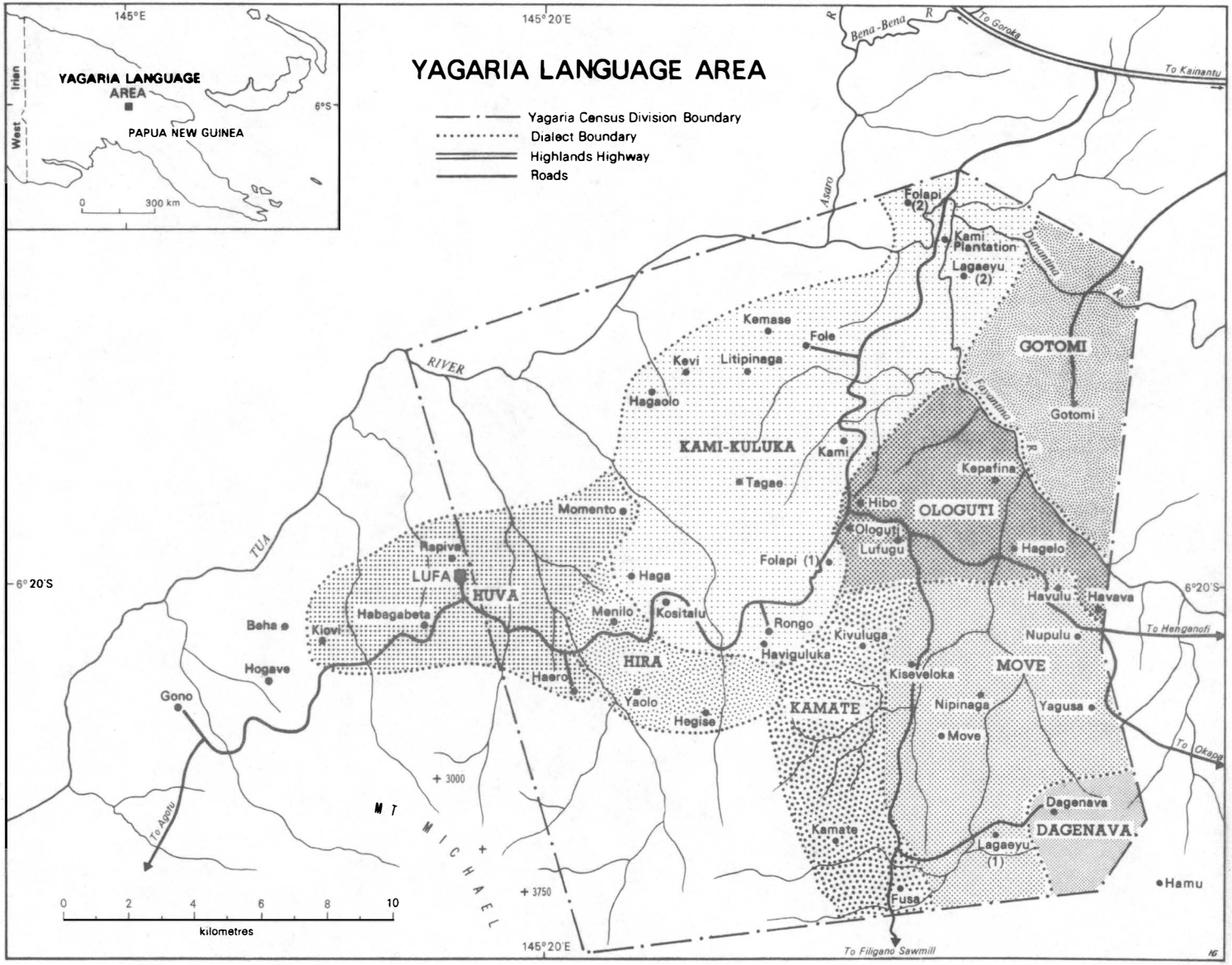
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Note: Capital letters are used in tagmemic formulas, and to identify certain morphemes in glosses to examples.

Small letter equivalents of these are used where necessary in the discussion of the grammar, and/or examples.

AB	ablative
ACT	aspectual continuative
AD	adessive
ANT	anticipation
ASP	aspect
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
COM	comitative
COMP	complemental marker
CON	connective particle
CPL	completive aspect
DEM	demonstrative
DES	descriptive
DL	dual
dl	dual
1.DL	1. person dual
2.DL	2. person dual
3.DL	3. person dual
EL	elative
EMPH	emphatic mood
EQ	equation
EX	exclamation
FUT	future tense
GN	goal nominalizer
GR	greeting
H	head
HAB	habitual
HCT	habitual continuative
IFUT	intentional future
IM	imperative
IMIN	imperative intensifier
IMN	imperative number
IN	inessive
IND	indicative
INST	instrumentive/instrumental
INT	real interrogative
INTC	conditional interrogative
IOBJ	indirect object
IRF	irreal conditional final
IRM	irreal conditional medial
LOC	locational
M	mood
MOD	modifier
MOT	motivational
NEG	negative
NI	non-identity of subject
OBJ	object
PAST	past tense
PC	potential conditional
PIV	pivotal marker
PL	plural
pl	plural
1.PL	1. person plural
2.PL	2. person plural
3.PL	3. person plural
PN	person-number marker
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicate
PROG	progressive aspect
QD	quality derivative
QUAL	qualifier
QUANT	Quantifier
RC	real conditional
RE	restrictive

REL	relation marker
SENT	sentence
SEQ	sequence
SG	singular
sg	singular
1.SG	1. person singular
2.SG	2. person singular
3.SG	3. person singular
SUB	substantive
SUBJ	subject
subj	subject
T	tense
TEMP	temporal
V	vowel
VB	verb
VBS	verb stem
vi	intransitive verb
VOC	vocative
vt	transitive verb
*	ungrammatical form


YAGARIA LANGUAGE AREA
Yagaria Census Division Boundary
Dialect Boundary
Highlands Highway
Roads
YAGARIA LANGUAGE AREA
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
West Irian
145°E
6°S
0 300 km
145°20'E
6°20'S
Bena-Bena R.
To Goroka
To Kainantu
Asaro R.
Folapi (2)
Kami Plantation
Lagaeyu (2)
Duruntina R.
Kemase
Fole
Kevi
Litipinaga
Hagaolo
RIVER
GOTOMI
Gotomi
Faruntina R.
KAMI-KULUKA
Kami
Tagae
Kepafina
Hibo
OLOGUTI
Ologuti
Lufugu
Hagelo
Momento
Rapiva
LUFA
HUVA
Haga
Folapi (1)
TUA
Beha
Kiovi
Habagabeta
Menilo
Kositalu
Rongo
Kivuluga
Havulu
Havava
To Henganofi
Nupulu
Hogave
Haviguluka
HIRA
Haero
Kiseveloka
MOVE
Gono
Yaolo
Hegise
KAMATE
Nipinaga
Yagusa
Move
To Okapa
+ 3000
MT MICHAEL
To Agalu
Dagenava
DAGENAVA
Kamate
Lagaeyu (1)
Hamu
+ 3750
Fusa
0 2 4 6 8 10
kilometres
To Filigano Sawmill
KG

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 *THE YAGARIA LANGUAGE*

0.1.1 The speakers

Yagaria is a Non-Austronesian or Papuan language of the Central Highlands of New Guinea.

20,756 Yagaria-speaking people, according to the 1973/74 Census figures, live in the area north to east of Mt. Michael, in the Lufa Subdistrict of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. In addition, there are 360 speakers of the language at Yagaria-Yagusa in the Keiagana-Kanite Census Division of the neighbouring Okapa Subdistrict. The ancestors of those people at Yagaria-Yagusa are said to have migrated there from Yagusa in the present-day Yagaria Census Division. Together with them, the total number of Yagaria speakers is 21,116.

All of the inhabitants of the Yagaria Census Division are speakers of the Yagaria language, and the westernmost dialect of the language extends into the Labogai Census Division.

The area inhabited by the Yagaria people, though not very large, shows marked topographical differences in itself. The settlements of the Yagaria people are found from the rather low lying areas around Kami and Gotomi (about 1,400 metres = 4,500 ft. above sea level) with their warm and dry climate and open, grass-covered valleys, up to almost 2,500 metres (8,000 ft.), to the edge of the heavily forested areas sloping down from Mt. Michael.

The Yagaria people always were, and still are, with very few exceptions, subsistance farmers. They live in small hamlets with a population of rarely exceeding 400 people. The population of such a hamlet is quite often identical with an exogamous patrilineage clan. The sweet potato is cultivated as the staple diet, besides that, taro, yams, sugarcane, bananas, beans, "pitpit", and a number of spinach-type vegetables are grown and eaten. Domestic animals kept include pigs, dogs, and chickens. The diet is occasionally supplemented by animals (marsupials) and birds hunted with bow and arrow in the forests or the grasslands.

The growing of coffee as a cash crop was introduced toward the end of the fifties, and has increased tremendously over the years. The cash has changed some of the traditional habits of eating and dressing. Rice, tinned meat and fish and other food items are nowadays available in stores throughout the area. Especially the men favour now a more

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European style of clothing, and wear shorts and shirts, instead of the traditional clothing made mainly of bark. Although women's clothing can also be bought, the number of women sticking to traditional clothing, is much greater than that of the men.

The traditional house form amongst the Yagaria people is the round or oval house built on the ground. In the old society, men lived separated from the women and children in the men's house which was the dominant building in the hamlet, some hamlets had even two or more men's houses. A young boy was accepted into the society of the adult men by the initiation ceremonies connected with cane-swallowing and nose-bleeding. The secret cult of the men, from which women and children were excluded, centered around the bamboo flutes which were blown at the occasion of initiations and pig festivals, and were also kept completely secret.

The secrecy of the flutes has been given up in recent years, mainly under the influence of Christian mission activity in the area. The flutes are, however, still blown occasionally in preparation for and as invitation to pig festivals. Men's houses were abandoned in favour of family houses. In more recent years, in a number of villages, larger houses in the style of the old men's houses have been built again. Those new houses are however not restricted to the men, but serve the whole community as gathering places at night, and as guest houses for visitors.

0.1.2 The neighbours

To the south and south-west of the Yagaria area lies the area of the Gimi people. There is quite a distinct language boundary passing through between the villages of Kiovi and Beha. Everywhere else, the Yagaria people are separated from their Gimi speaking neighbours by high ridges and dense uninhabited rain forests.

West of the Yagaria language area, across the Tua river which has belts of unpopulated areas in its deep valley on both of its sides, live speakers of languages of the Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock. The languages bordering Yagaria to the west, belong to the Chuave-Nomane group of the Central Family.

To the north and north-west, also across the Jua river, the Yagaria people are bordered by speakers of the Siane-Yabiyufa language subfamily which belongs, as Yagaria and Gimi, to the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock.

To the north, the Yagaria people are bordered by the Bena-Bena, to the north-east, by the Kafe-Kamano and by the Yate people.

The languages most closely related to Yagaria, are situated to the east of the area: Keiagana and Kanite. Together with them, and with the two a little more distantly related languages Yate and Kamano, Yagaria belongs to the Kamano-Yagaria-Keiagana subfamily of the East-Central Family of the East New Guinea Highlands Stock which in turn belongs to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum of the Non-Austronesian languages[1].

The name "Yagaria" was originally unknown to the people themselves. It originates from the people living to the north of the area. The Bena-Bena people call the region south of their own the "Yagaria" area, and consequently speak of the "Yagaria people" and the "Yagaria language". The Australian Administration which had before and during the Second World War an administration centre and airstrip in the Bena-Bena area, used the term "Yagaria" for topographical purposes. Wurm, after his 1958-59 field survey of the Australian New Guinea Highlands languages, introduced the term for linguistic classification[2].

0.1.3 Dialects

Yagaria consists of eight main dialects, and some of those have even what could be called sub-dialects, as idiosyncrasies of speech may be found varying from one village to the next within a given dialect.

The distribution of the dialects is shown on the map on Page xiii[3]. All dialects share a high percentage of cognates, e.g. Move and Kami-Kuluka share 92.3%.

The most eastern, and smallest of the dialects, Dagenava, is actually a link in the dialect chain between Yagaria and Keiagana, as there is no distinct boundary between those two languages. The dialect change just progresses from one village to the next, and actually the decision that Dagenava belongs to Yagaria, and the dialect spoken at the neighbouring village of Hamu, to Keiagana, is quite an arbitrary one which has partly been influenced by the Administration's borders between Census Divisions and Subdistricts[4].

The most western dialect, Huva, which is spoken around the Administration centre of Lufa, and extends into the Labogai Census Division as far west as Kiovi, and into the Yagaria Census Division as far east as Momento, could for certain reasons, mainly of a socio-linguistic nature, be regarded as a separate language. Such separation could certainly not be done on the basis of lexico-statistical evidence (85.6% cognates between Kami-Kuluka and Huva, 81.3% between Move and Huva), but on the basis of structural differences[5].

For practical purposes, as the present writer has always found, the mutual intelligibility between Huva and the other dialects is great enough, especially when dealing with younger people, to carry on a conversation.

The numbers of the speakers of the different dialects, according to the 73/74 Census figures, is as follows (the Yagaria-Yagusa people are included with the Move dialect speakers):

Dagenava	373
Move	4,519
Kamate	2,369
Ologuti	2,165
Gotomi	2,032
Kami-Kuluka	4,469
Hira	2,318
Huva	2,871
Total	21,116

Because of the dialect situation, in the past the people never referred to the language as a unit, and had no common name for the language as a whole. They rather referred to dialects or sub-dialects as to the "language of the X-people" (the word X could be the name of a tribe, or a village, a group of hamlets, or a smaller area comprising several villages).

More recently, the term "Yagaria" also for the language has been more generally adopted by the people (except by the speakers of Huva and partly of Hira).

The Move dialect, also known as "Filigano" or "Kiseveloka" dialect, was chosen for language research and literacy purposes in 1961 upon recommendation by S.A. Wurm. Reasons for that choice were the following:

1. The dialect has a large number of speakers,
2. The Move people were quite influential, and their dialect carried a certain prestige already in the old times,
3. The speakers of this dialect had the first permanent contact with people from outside their area, i.e. the Lutheran mission workers who lived amongst them from 1949 on,
4. Move proved to be phonologically and morphologically the most regular of the dialects.

The Move dialect, by being written, has been made the standard version of Yagaria for purposes of literacy. As the Phonemic Statement[6] and the Dictionary (forthcoming), also this present Grammar, when

describing the "Yagaria language", actually describes the Move dialect as the standardised version of that language.

0.2 *THE PRESENT GRAMMAR*

Research for the compilation of this Grammar was carried out very sporadically during the years from 1961-1964, a few months in 1967, again between 1970 and 1972, and for two months 1973/74. Linguistic work was always done in spare time (of which there seemed never to be quite enough) during the writer's missionary duties at Rongo.

In this Grammar, it is attempted to describe the structure of Yagaria as far as the level of sentence. The description is based on the theory of Tagmemics. However, it was thought to be advantageous for the non-linguist reader or user of this Grammar[7], if a disintegrated approach to lower and higher levels of the grammar was tried. Therefore, in the outline of this Grammar, the bulk of information has been divided into two major parts, and for naming those, the more traditional concepts of grammar, morphology (up to word level) and syntax (above word level) have been applied. In the practical description, of course, it was often not possible to draw a definite border line between the two parts, as it is also often difficult in tagmemics to stick to just one level in the description of certain features. Thus, some overlapping between "morphology" and "syntax" could not be avoided. For the classification of words, for instance, statements about occurrence and distribution had to be made, and phrases, clauses, or even sentences had to be used as illustrations. In some instances it came in handy to describe some word compounding in the morphology, thereby dealing with phrase level units on the word level. On the other hand, as the decision whether compound words are in fact one or two words, is sometimes quite an arbitrary one, some "morphological" features had to be dealt with on "syntax" levels.

The main concern of the writer was and is, to provide an adequate description of the language, but provide it in a rather simple form so that it remains digestable also for non-linguists. For that reason, the writer has tried to avoid becoming too technical, and restrict linguistic terminology to the minimum necessary for the adequacy of the description.

Since no grammatical description of a language is absolutely complete, most probably gaps will eventually be discovered in this Grammar. There might even be interpretations which further research will prove wrong. It is the hope of the present writer that the next edition of a Yagaria grammar (if it ever appears) will be more complete and more

correct, and will be written by an indigenous speaker of the language.

0.3 *ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS*

First of all, the writer wants to thank all the men from all over the area, but especially from Kiseveloka, who over the years at one time or another have provided information about the language, foremost his friend and co-worker Uulo Itamu. Of all the others, teachers, evangelists, students, elders, and simple village men, only a few may be mentioned here by name: Imala, Letefa, Hariepe, Uheno, Mosove, and Koyamu. Without their dedicated help, this Grammar could not have been written.

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1 PHONOLOGY

This section gives a description of the phonemes, and serves as an explanation of the Yagaria spelling system as it has been used since 1967. The system is based on the phonemics statement drawn up by the present writer at that time[8]. Though that statement was termed "tentative" then, the practical orthography based on it proved by its use to be quite adequate, and therefore the spelling system has virtually remained unchanged. Where the writer's views on phonological features have been slightly modified, and differ from those expressed in the Statement of 1967, it will be indicated in this section by a footnote.

1.1 *The Phonemes*

1.1.1 Consonants

/p/ Voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop with submembers [p], [p·], and [ʔp]
[p] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated stop occurring word initially, and word medially between vowels
[p·] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated lengthened stop fluctuating with [p] in word medial position
[ʔp] Voiceless bilabial unaspirated preglottalised stop fluctuating with [p] in word medial position
/'panita/ ['panita] *their hands*
/'nipiʔ/ ['nipiʔ] *in the water*

/b/ Voiced bilabial stop with submembers [b] and [ʔb]
[b] Voiced bilabial stop occurring word initially
[ʔb] Voiced bilabial preglottalised stop occurring word medially between vowels
/'ba/ ['ba] *sweet potato*
/'abaʔ/ ['aʔbaʔ] *woman* subj

/t/ Voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop with submembers [t], [t·], and [ʔt]
[t] Voiceless alveolar unaspirated stop occurring word initially, and word medially between vowels
[t·] Voiceless alveolar unaspirated lengthened stop fluctuating with [t] in word medial position
[ʔt] Voiceless alveolar unaspirated preglottalised stop fluctuating with [t] in word medial position

/'tupa/ ['tupa] *piece*
/'ata/ ['ata] *waterfall*

/d/ Voiced alveolar stop with submembers [d] and [ʔd]
[d] Voiced alveolar stop occurring word initially
[ʔd] Voiced alveolar preglottalised stop occurring word medially between vowels
/'dotɛʔna/ ['dotɛʔna] *food*
/'badɛ/ ['baʔdɛ] *boy*

/k/ Voiceless velar unaspirated stop with submembers [k] and [k·][9]
[k] Voiceless velar unaspirated stop occurring word medially between vowels
[k·] Voiceless velar unaspirated lengthened stop occuring in fluctuation with [k]
/'sokona/ ['sokona] *good*

/g/ Velar consonant with submembers [k], [ɡ], and [g][10]
[k] Voiceless velar unaspirated stop occurring word initially
[ɡ] Voiced velar fricative occurring word medially with either [a] or [o] preceding, and at the same time either of the two vowels following, and occurring in fluctuation with word initial [k] utterance medially in the same vowel environment
[g] Voiced velar stop occurring word medially intervocalically in other vowel environments, and occurring in fluctuation with word initial [k] utterance medially in the same vowel environment
/'gɛ/ ['kɛ] *word*
/ya'ga/ [ya'ɡa] *animal*
/'ɛgɛ/ ['ɛgɛ] *banana*
/'hoya 'gɛ/ ['hoya 'kɛ] or ['hoya 'gɛ] *working instructions*
/'hoya ga'naʔa/ ['hoya ka'naʔa] or ['hoya ɡanaʔa] *time of work*
Note: [ɡ] tends to become [g] when [ị] precedes:
/ị a'ga/ [ị a'ga] instead of [ị a'ɡa] *fruit*

/ʔ/ [ʔ] Voiceless glottal stop occurring word medially (intervocalically, and as first consonant of a CC sequence), and word finally

/da'mi?o/ [da'mi?o] *give* dl *me!*
/'yopi?/ ['yopi?] *in the house*

/f/ Voiceless fricative consonant with submembers [f] and [ɸ]
[f] Voiceless labiodental fricative occurring word initially, and medially between vowels
[ɸ] Voiceless bilabial fricative occurring in free fluctuation with [f]
/'fɛva/ ['fɛva] *pitpit*
/'ɛfɛna/ ['ɛfɛna] *white cockatoo*

/v/ Voiced fricative consonant with submembers [v] and [ɓ]
[v] Voiced labiodental fricative occurring word initially and medially
[ɓ] Voiced bilabial fricative occurring in free fluctuation with [v]
/'vɛ/ ['vɛ] *man*
/'yava/ ['yava] *tree*

/h/ [h] Voiceless glottal fricative occurring word initially and medially
/'ha/ ['ha] *mushroom*
/da'hapɛ^{i}o/ [da'hapɛ^{i}o] *tell me!*

/s/ [s] Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative occurring word initially, and medially between vowels
/sa'mo/ [sa'mo] *cooking pot*
/'dɛsava/ ['dɛsava] *cordyline*

/m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal occurring word initially, and medially between vowels
/'maḷo?/ ['maḷo?] *here*
/na'ma/ [na'ma] *bird*

/n/ [n] Voiced alveolar nasal occurring word initially and medially
/'nina/ ['nina] *water*
/'dotɛ?na/ ['dotɛ?na] *food*

/ḷ/ [ḷ] Voiced velar lateral[11] occurring word initially and medially
/'ḷuna/ ['ḷuna] *axe*
/ha'ḷi/ [ha'ḷi] *fire*
Note: Vowels following this consonant, are pronounced with the tongue still in position for the lateral

/y/ Voiced alveolar-alveopalatal consonant with sub-members [y], [ʑ], and [ǰ]

[y] Voiced alveopalatal continuant occurring word initially and medially

[ʑ] Voiced alveolar homorganic affricate, occurring in free fluctuation with [y]

[ǰ] Voiced heterorganic affricate, consisting of alveolar stop followed by alveopalatal grooved fricative, occurring in free fluctuation with [y]

/'yava/	['yava]	*tree*
/'hoya/	['hoya]	*garden*
/'yuʔyuna/	['yuʔyuna]	*species of fruit tree*

1.1.2 Vowels

/i/ [i] Voiced high close unrounded front vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'itɛnɛ/	['itɛnɛ]	*old woman*
/'gina/	['kina]	*path*
/ha'l̥i/	[ha'l̥i]	*fire*

/ɛ/ [ɛ] Voiced mid open unrounded front vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'ɛvɛ/	['ɛvɛ]	*sugarcane*
/'hɛnaga/	['hɛnaga]	*later*

/ɛ^{i}/ [ɛ^{i}] Voiced mid open unrounded front vocoid gliding to high close unrounded front, occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'ɛ^{i}gava/	['ɛ^{i}gava]	*new*
/'fɛ^{i}pa/	['fɛ^{i}pa]	*bad*
/'gɛ^{i}/	['kɛ^{i}]	*moon*

/u/ [u] Voiced high close rounded back vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'ul̥inana/	['ul̥inana]	*shade*
/'guna/	['kuna]	*netbag*
/ha'vu/	[ha'vu]	*bow*

/o/ [o] Voiced mid close rounded back vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'ol̥iva/	['ol̥iva]	*flying fox*
/'gona/	['kona]	*bamboo*
/ɛ'no/	[ɛ'no]	*come!*

/o^{u}/ [o^{u}] Voiced mid close rounded back vocoid gliding to high close rounded back, occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'o^{u}sɛ/ ['o^{u}sɛ] *flower*
/'ho^{u}na/ ['ho^{u}na] *liver*
/'ho^{u}/ ['ho^{u}] *dry*

/a/ [a] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid occurring word initially, medially, and finally

/'ana/ ['ana] *woman*
/'bakisavɛ/ ['bakisavɛ] *snake*

/a^{ɛ}/ Voiced unrounded central-front vowel with submembers [a^{ɛ}], [a^{i}], and [æ]

[a^{ɛ}] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to mid open unrounded front, occurring word initially, medially, and finally

[a^{i}] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to high close unrounded front, occurring in free fluctuation with [a^{ɛ}]

[æ] Voiced low close unrounded front vocoid occurring word finally in fluctuation with [a^{ɛ}] and [a^{i}]

/'a^{ɛ}pa/ ['a^{ɛ}pa] *beginning*
/'ha^{ɛ}da^{ɛ}/ ['ha^{ɛ}ʔda^{ɛ}] *they shot him*

/a^{o}/ Voiced central-back vowel with submembers [a^{o}], [a^{u}], and [ɔ]

[a^{o}] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to mid close rounded back, occurring word initially, medially, and finally

[a^{u}] Voiced low open unrounded central vocoid gliding to high close rounded back, occurring in free fluctuation with [a^{o}]

[ɔ] Voiced low close rounded back vocoid occurring word finally in fluctuation with [a^{o}] and [a^{u}]

/a^{o}'diɛ/ [a^{o}'ʔdiɛ] *he stepped*
/'ha^{o}na/ ['ha^{o}na] *kidney*
/'ga^{o}/ ['ka^{o}] *cook!*

Note: The four glides /ɛ^{i}/, /o^{u}/, /a^{ɛ}/, and /a^{o}/ always form the nucleus of one syllable, whereas all other VV sequences are true sequences, and belong to different syllables.

1.1.3 Suprasegments

Three tones may be observed in Yagaria, low, mid, and high. But only two minimal word pairs have been discovered which contrast by mid and low tones, so that the existence of two tonemes may be stated:

/'vɛ/	['vɛ̄]	*man*
/'vɛ/	['vɛ̀]	*spirit*
/ha'ḷi/	[hà'ḷī]	*fire*
/ha'ḷi/	[hā'ḷī]	*arrow*

But this basis obviously is too narrow to establish Yagaria as a tone language. In all other cases where the occurrence of minimal pairs depends on suprasegments, stress is the decisive factor, and the occurring tone is closely linked with stress:

/'havu/	['hāvù]	*root*
/ha'vu/	[hà'vū]	*bow*
/'gaḷɛna/	['kāḷɛ̀nà]	*line*
/ga'ḷɛna/=	[kà'ḷɛ̄nà]	*penis*

There are three emic degrees of stress: Stress, non-stress, and reduction[12]. The last degree results in the occurrence of "reduced" syllables in which quite often the vowel is hardly audible. (It has to be maintained, though, that those vowels do exist, because of the prevailing CVCV syllable pattern in the language, and the absence otherwise of all CC clusters except ʔC.) The term "reduced syllable" will be used frequently in this Grammar, since their occurrence has consequences for the morphology, especially for the verb morphology (cf. 2.3.1.5 and 2.3.2.21.2.)

In this Grammar, stress will be indicated only where necessary to contrast words or word pairs (cf. 1.4).

1.1.4 Distribution of phonemes

There are four different syllable patterns in Yagaria: V, CV, CVC, and VC, of which CV is the most frequently occurring one. Any of the vowels, including the glides, may fill the vowel slot in any syllable, and in any position of the syllable in the word. Any consonant may fill the initial consonant slot of a CV and CVC syllable, the glottal stop, however, does not occur in word initial position. A syllable may be closed only by a glottal stop, i.e. the final consonant slot in a CVC and VC syllable may be filled only by a glottal stop.

1.2 *MORPHOPHONEMICS*

Preglottalisation may occur with a number of consonants, with the result of consonant clusters being formed. There are, however, some consonants which cannot become preglottalised, these are /g/, /m/, /s/, /f/, /b/, /d/[13], and the voiceless stops[14]. At the juncture of two morphemes forming one word, the following morphophonemic changes occur if the preceding morpheme closes with a glottal stop, and the following starts with any one of the consonants above:

/g/ becomes voiceless: /ʔ/ + /g/ > /k/

/ha'niʔ/	*darkness*
/-gɛva/	*great*
/ha'nikɛva/	*great darkness*

/m/ becomes a voiced stop: /ʔ/ + /m/ > /b/

/'aʔ/	*female*
/-maʔ/	pivotal marker
/'abaʔ/	*woman* subj

/s/, /f/, and the voiceless stops cause the glottal stop to disappear:

/ʔ/ + /s/ > /s/

/aʔ-/	negative marker
/'sɛ^{i}o/	*hang it up!*
/a'sɛ^{i}o/	*do not hang it up!*

/ʔ/ + /f/ > /f/

/afili'diɛ/	*he did not die*

/ʔ/ + p/ > /p/

/noʔ-/	progressive marker
/nopa'gɛ/	*he is seeing them*

/ʔ/ + /t/ > /t/

/noto'ǃoɛ/	*I am throwing it away*

Note: Some of the morphophonemic changes described in Renck 1967, have been left out of here, and are explained in this grammar as allomorphs, since no general morphophonemic rules can be established for them.

1.3 *VOWEL CONTRACTION*

In the case of compound verbs (cf. 2.3.5) and close-knit verb phrases (cf. 3.1.2.2), when two words form a semantic unit, the two vowels at their junction may be contracted regressively, i.e. the final

vowel of the preceding word is assimilated into the initial vowel of the following word. Thus the two words phonetically unite to form one word. But since that word has two stresses, it is treated as two separate words in the phonemic spelling, so that the vowel contraction is phonemically irrelevant. It is, however, important as far as the pronunciation is concerned.

Examples:	/'hɛ^{i}da o'duɛ/	['hɛ^{i}ʔdo'ʔduɛ]	*I came up*
	/ɛ'l̥ina ɛ'siɛ/	[ɛ'l̥inɛ'siɛ]	*he shall bring*
	/ɛ'l̥ika u'o/	[ɛ'l̥iku'o]	*take it away!*
	/ɛ'l̥ina i'siɛ/	[ɛ'l̥ini'siɛ]	*he shall take it away*
	/'ɛ^{i}gava ɛ^{i}'diɛ/	['ɛ^{i}gavɛ^{i}'ʔdiɛ]	*he woke up*

1.4 *PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY*

Consonant and vowel morphemes are represented in the practical orthography, and also throughout this Grammar, by the following symbols:

/p/	by	p
/b/	by	b
/t/	by	t
/d/	by	d
/k/	by	k
/g/	by	g
/ʔ/	by	'
/f/	by	f
/v/	by	v
/h/	by	h
/s/	by	s
/m/	by	m
/n/	by	n
/l̥/	by	l
/y/	by	y
/i/	by	i
/ɛ/	by	e
/ɛ^{i}/	by	ei
/u/	by	u
/o/	by	o
/o^{u}/	by	ou
/a/	by	a
/a^{ɛ}/	by	ae
/a^{o}/	by	ao

Although stress is emic, it is left out of the practical orthography. Its indication would be helpful for the non-indigenous reader only, since the indigenous reader will pronounce the words correctly even without the indication of stress, especially in a text. For most indigenous readers, the indication of stress would be more confusing than helpful.

Stress, i.e. the main word stress, is indicated in the Yagaria Dictionary[15] by the accent ˈ.

In this Grammar, the indication of stress is left out except in a few instances where it is necessary to contrast words. In those instances, the same accent ˈ is used.

2 MORPHOLOGY

2.1 *SUBSTANTIVES*

In this section all non-verb words are included which take affixes as pronouns, nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, locationals, and interrogatives.

2.1.1 Pronouns

Pronouns occur as personal, possessive, emphatic, and interrogative pronouns (the latter is described under 2.1.6). Both personal and possessive pronouns occur in free word and affixed forms. The emphatic pronoun occurs only as suffix. There are three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, and three persons in each number[16].

2.1.1.1 *Free Form Personal Pronoun*

Personal pronouns occur in free word form, and as affixes. In both free word and affixed form, they may occur as subjects in transitive and intransitive clauses, and as objects.

Free form:

	Singular	
1. Person	dagaea	*I*
2. Person	gagaea	*you* sg
3. Person	agaea	*he/she*[17]

	Dual	
1. Person	la'agaea	*we* dl
2. Person	latagaea	*you* dl[18]
3. Person	tagaea	*they* dl
	Plural	
1. Person	lagaea	*we*
2. Person	lapagaea	*you* pl[18]
3. Person	pagaea	*they*

Beside the full form, there are two short forms of the personal pronoun, one with an open, and one with a closed last syllable:

		open	closed	
Singular	1.	dagae	dagae'	*I*
	2.	gagae	gagae'	*you* sg
	3.	agae	agae'	*he/she*
Dual	1.	la'agae	la'agae'	*we* dl
	2.	latagae	latagae'	*you* dl
	3.	tagae	tagae'	*they* dl
Plural	1.	lagae	lagae'	*we*
	2.	lapagae	lapagae'	*you* pl
	3.	pagae	pagae'	*they*

2.1.1.11 Inflection

The personal pronouns take the same inflection suffixes as the nouns (cf. under 2.1.2), but not all the suffixes occurring with nouns, occur with the pronouns.

The Pivotal Marker occurs with pronouns only with further suffixation[19], therefore the full pronoun form ending in -a, is used for agentive (cf. 2.1.2.3).

The only inflection marker suffixed to the full pronoun form, is the equation marker (cf. 2.1.2.9).

All other suffixes are attached to one of the short pronoun forms:

The open syllable short form is used with the Pivotal Marker (cf. 2.1.2.3), the Connective clitic -mo (cf. 2.1.2.1-5) and the comitative marker -gi (cf. 2.1.2.7). All other inflection markers are suffixed to the closed syllable short form of the pronoun, and therefore occur in the form of noun class 1 suffixes.

Examples:

Benefactive:	dagaese'	*for me*	(cf. 2.1.2.4)
Adessive:	dagaetoga	*at me/to me*	(2.1.2.51)
Ablative:	dagaetogati'	*away from me*	(2.1.2.53)
Comitative:	dagae'e', dagae'ese'	*with me*	(2.1.2.7)
Equation:	dagaeae'	*it is I*	(2.1.2.9)
Connective:	dagaemo	*I and ....*	(2.1.2.1-5)
Restrictive:	dagaeko'	*I alone*	(2.1.2.1-3)

2.1.1.12 Occurrence as subject

Free word form personal pronouns may occur as subjects in transitive and intransitive clauses. They do so in their full form.

dagaea gayale hao- d- u- e *I shot the pig*
I *pig* *shoot*-PAST-1.SG-IND

agaea o- d- i- e *he came*
he *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND

The pronouns may also occur in focused phrases (3.1.1.2), especially in transitive clauses where the marking of the subject is obligatory (cf. 2.1.2.3). The occurrence of such pronouns and uses of the pivotal marker are mutually exclusive.

yale pagaea gayale hae- d- a- e *the people shot the*
people *they* *pig* *shoot*-PAST-3.PL-IND *pig*

ve agaea o- d- i- e *the man came*
man *he* *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND

ve agaea gayale hao- d- i- e *the man shot the pig*
man *he* *pig* *shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND

2.1.1.13 Occurrence as object

Free personal pronouns may occur as objects in transitive clauses. They do so in their long form, stressing the person who is the object.

dagaea ø- begi-d- u- e *I hit him*
I *him-hit-* PAST-1.SG-IND

dagaea agaea ø- begi-d- u- e *I hit h i m*
I *he* *him-hit-* PAST-1.SG-IND

pagaea la-begi-d- a- e *they hit us*
they *us-hit-* PAST-3.PL-IND

pagaea lagaea la-begi-d- a- e *they hit u s*
they *we* *us-hit-* PAST-3.PL-IND

The personal pronoun may even occur in a focused phrase occupying an object slot. This occurrence, however, is not very frequent.

dagaea ve agaea ø- begi-d- u- e *I hit the man*
I *man he* *him-hit*-PAST-1.SG-IND

2.1.1.2 Affixed Personal Pronoun

The affixed forms of the personal pronouns occur as either suffixes or prefixes. As suffixes, they usually represent the subject of a clause, as prefix, they mainly indicate objects in transitive clauses.

2.1.1.21 Affixed form as Subject

The affixed form of the personal pronoun, when indicating the subject, occurs as suffix with either nouns or verbs.

Note: Very infrequently the prefix (2.1.1.22) may indicate the subject, e.g.

d-agotavei- d- u- e *I fell to the ground*
I-fall down-PAST-1.SG-IND

d- aleta fei-d- u- e *I kneeled*
I- kneel- PAST-1.SG-IND

d-eida' hu-d- u- e *I spat*
I-spit- PAST-1.SG-IND

2.1.1.21.1 With nouns

The suffixes occurring with nouns, are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	-da	-ta'a/-la'a	-ta/-la
2. Person	-ka/-ga	-tata/-lata	
3. Person	-'a	-tata/-lata	

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They may be suffixed directly to a noun or proper name to stress the subject in verbal clauses, and they may also occur in the predicate of non-verbal clauses.

Ovu-da *I am Ovu*
Ovu-I

dagaea Ovu-da *I am Ovu*
I *Ovu-I*

d- agi- di-mo Ovu-da *my name is Ovu*
my- name- my-CON *Ovu-I*

gagaea Imala-ga- vie *are you Imala?*
you-sg *Imala-you* sg-INT

g- agi- ka- mo Imala-ga- vie *is your name Imala?*
your sg-*name-your* sg-CON *Imala-you* sg-INT

Ovu-da ma- lo' bei- d- u- e *I, Ovu, am here*
Ovu-I *this-* AD *live*-PAST-1.SG-IND

abade-lata- 'a *his two girls*
girl- they dl-*his*

Ovu-'a gayale hao- d- i- e *Ovu shot the pig*
Ovu-he *pig* *shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND

a- tata e- d- a'- e *the two women came*
woman-they dl *come*-PAST-3.DL-IND

bade-lata i- d- a'- e *the two boys went*
boy- they dl *go*-PAST-3.DL-IND

They may also be suffixed after the pivotal marker for the same functions as described above.

d- agi- di-mo Imala-ma -da *my name is Imala*
my-name- my-CON *Imala*-PIV-*I*

g- agi- ka- mo Imala-ma- ka- vie *is your name Imala?*
your-name-your-CON *Imala*-PIV-*you*-INT

dagaea Imala-ma- da *I am Imala*
I *Imala*-PIV -*I*

gagaea Imala-ma- ka- vie *are you Imala?*
you *Imala*-PIV-*you-* INT

Avedini agae' bade-ma- da game' de hao- d- u- e *I, Avedini's son, shot the enemy*
Avedini his boy- PIV-*I fight man shoot*-PAST-1.SG-IND

bogoko' gagona- ma- ta'a hoya bogopi' eli- s- u'- e
one *brother*-PIV-*we* dl *work together make*-IFUT-1.DL-IND
since we dl *are brothers, let us* dl *do the work together*

The second person may also function as vocative marker, cf. 2.1.2.8.

2.1.1.21.2 Anticipatory subject with medial verbs

These suffixes assume forms slightly different from the ones occurring with nouns as described in the preceding paragraph. Especially the 3. person in all three numbers shows some irregularities.

The suffixes determine the subject in the following clause.

The suffixes anticipating identical subject, are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	-da	-ta'a	-ta
2. Person	-ka	-ta'a	-ta
3. Person	-na	-da'a	-da

(for further details on form and usage, cf. 2.3.3.11.1)

The suffixes anticipating non-identical subject, occur following the change-of-subject marker -ga/-aga, and are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	-da	-ta'a	-ta
2. Person	-ka	-tati	-tapi
3. Person	-ni	-ti	-pi

For the 3. person singular, also the less frequent form -na occurs. (for further details on form and usage, cf. 2.3.3.12)

2.1.1.22 Affixed form as object

The affixed form of the personal pronoun, when indicating the object, occurs as prefix with transitive verbs, and precedes the verb stem. (cf. also 2.3.4.2).

The prefixes assume different allomorphic forms depending on the verb stem.

The allomorphs used on verbs with stem-initial vowels, end on a consonant:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	d-	la'-	l-
2. Person	g-	lat-	lap-
3. Person	ø-	t-	p-

ø- aeli-d- u- e *I showed him*
him-show-PAST-1.SG-IND

d- aeli-d- i- e *he showed me*
me-show-PAST-3.SG-IND

l- age-d- a- e *they saw us*
us-see-PAST-3.PL-IND

The allomorphs used on verbs with stem-initial consonants, end on a vowel:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	da-	la'a-	la-
2. Person	ga-	lata-	lapa-
3. Person	ø-	ta-	pa-

ø- begi-d- u- e *I hit him*
him-hit- PAST-1.SG-IND

da-begi-d- i- e *he hit me*
me-hit- PAST-3.SG-IND

pa- begi-d- u- e *I hit them*
them-hit- PAST-1.SG-IND

Other allomorphs occur for the 2. and 3. person plural with verbs which have stem-initial h. The bilabial stop in the prefix changes into a fricative:

lap(a) + h- > laf-
p(a) + h- > f-

lapa- hapei-d- u- e > lafapeidue *I told you* pl
you pl-*tell-* PAST-1.SG-IND

pa- hao- d- i- e > faodie *he shot them*
them-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

Both forms, the one with the stop and the one with the fricative, do occur, but forms with fricatives occur much more frequently than the others, and have therefore to be regarded as the norm. (cf. also 2.1.1.42)

2.1.1.3 *Free form Possessive Pronoun* (cf. also 2.1.2.2).

Possessive pronouns occur as free words, and as affixes.

Formally, the free word possessive pronoun is the same as the short closed form of the personal pronoun (cf. 2.1.1.1). The possessive pronoun precedes the possessed noun (cf. 3.1.1.12).

dagae'	bade	*my son*
my	*boy*	
agae'	hoya	*his garden*
his	*garden*	
lagae'	ge	*our language*
our	*language*	

2.1.1.4 *Affixed Possessive Pronoun*

The affixed forms of the possessive pronoun occur as (in order of frequency) suffixes, prefixes and infixes.

2.1.1.41 Possessive suffixes

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	-di	-ti'a	-ti
2. Person	-ka	-tati	-tipi
3. Person	-'a	-ti'a	-pi

Of these, only the suffix -ti'a is ambiguous, representing the 1. as well as the 3. person dual.

Possessive suffixes are optional with nouns of classes 1 and 2, but obligatory with nouns of class 3.

yo-	di	*my house*
house-my		
hoya-	pi	*their garden*
garden-their		
avo-	'a	*his father*
father-his		

(for further details, cf. 2.1.2.23 and 2.1.2.24)

2.1.1.42 Possessive prefixes

Possessive prefixes are formally the same as the object prefixes described in 2.1.1.22. Also the distribution of their allomorphs parallels

that of the object prefix allomorphs, depending whether the noun they are prefixed to, starts with a vowel or a consonant:

d- anita *my hand*
my-hand

l- eiya *our feet*
our-feet

ø- agenopa *his head*
his-head

da-motu-lo' *above me*
my-top- AD

pa- lugona *their neck*
their-neck

da-sa- di-ma' *my sister*
*my-sister-my-*PIV

There are also the allomorphs with fricatives for the 2. and 3. person plural, occurring with nouns starting with h-:

lapa- hani > lafani *your* pl *foreheads*
your pl-*forehead*

pa- heivita > feivita *their chests*
their-chest

nama pa- haku > nama faku *the birds' wings*
bird their-wing

Both allomorphic forms, the one with the stop and the one with the fricative, do occur, but as the allomorphs with fricatives occur much more frequently than the others, they have to be regarded as the norm.

Possessive prefixes occur mainly to denote inalienably possessed nouns, especially body parts, but they occur also with some kinship terms.

For further details, cf. 2.1.2.21 and 2.1.2.24.

2.1.1.43 Possessive infixes

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. Person	-da-	-'la'a	-'la-/-ta-
2. Person	-ka-	-'lata-/-tata-	-'lapa-/-tapa-
3. Person	-'a-/-'i-[21]	-ta-	-pa-

These infixes occur very rarely, only with five nouns:

The kinship terms	e'ava'a	*his father*
	i'ila'a	*his mother*
	e'ago'a	*his older brother*
	bo'ava'a	*his tutor*
and with the noun	ei'agina	*his bowels*

Example:

e- da- va- di- ma'	*my father*
-*my*-	
father - *my*- PIV	

(for further details, cf. 2.1.2.22)

Judging from their forms, it may be assumed that the infixes were originally prefixes, and became infixes through noun compounding. At present, the above kinship terms are inseparable, there are no nouns *e or *va which would occur in isolation. Also, there are two forms each for the 2. person dual, and the 1. and 2. person plural, and the allomorphs have no different distribution, but are just interchangeable. The allomorphs starting with laterals have a common word initial form (like prefixes) and are most probably the original forms, whereas the ones starting with stops may be a later development.

An example where separation is possible, would be the noun ei'agina, the only body part inalienably possessed by means of an infix. It will in the following be analyzed and compared with the noun eivagina.

ei *guts* (although a body part, the noun never carries prefixation, cf. 2.1.2.21)
eiva *faeces* (never occurs with prefixation, cf. 2.1.2.21)
gina *opening/path* (never occurs inalienably possessed)

The compound words, however, occur with prefixation or infixation indicating that they are inalienably possessed:

d- eiva- gina		*my anus*	
my-faeces-opening			
ei- da-gina		*my bowels*	
guts-my-opening			
*d- ei- gina	and	* ei- gi- di	never occur.
my-guts-opening		*guts-opening-my*	

2.1.1.5 *Accumulation of possessives*

In order to stress who the possessor is, frequently several possessives may occur with one noun. In the case of alienably possessed nouns, only two possessive expressions may be used together, the suffix and the free word:

yo- di *my house*
house-my

dagae' yona *my house*
my house

dagae' yo- di *my house*
my house-my

In the case of inalienably possessed nouns, up to three possessive expressions may accumulate: the prefix or infix, whichever may be the case, the suffix, and the free word pronoun.

d- oulega *my eye*
my-eye

d- oulega-di *my eye*
my-eye- my

dagae' d- oulega *my eye*
my my-eye

dagae' d- oulega-di *my eye*
my my-eye- my

nalu-di *my wife*
wife-my

da-nalu-di *my wife*
my-wife-my

dagae' nalu-di *my wife*
my wife-my

dagae' da-nalu-di-ma' *my wife*
my my-wife-my-PIV

2.1.1.6 *Emphatic pronoun*

The emphatic pronouns are suffixes which are formally identical with the possessive suffixes. They may be glossed as *myself, yourself, himself/herself* etc.

The emphatic pronouns occur suffixed to the short form of their corresponding personal pronouns:

Singular	1. Person	dagaedi	*I myself*
	2. Person	gagaeka	*you yourself*
	3. Person	agae'a	*he himself/she herself*
Dual	1. Person	la'agaeti'a	*we* dl *ourselves*
	2. Person	latagaetati	*you* dl *yourselves*
	3. Person	tagaeti'a	*they* dl *themselves*
Plural	1. Person	lagaeti	*we ourselves*
	2. Person	lapagaetipi	*you* pl *yourselves*
	3. Person	pagaepi	*they themselves*

The emphatic pronoun quite often carries the restrictive suffix -go *alone/on one's own.*

dagae-di- go *just I myself*
I- myself-RE
(cf. also 2.1.2.1-3).

Reduplication of personal pronouns suffixed with the emphatic marker, expresses reciprocity:

lagae-ti lagae-ti *we amongst ourselves*
we- ourselves we- ourselves
(cf. 3.1.1.2).

For other emphatic pronoun forms, cf. 2.1.1.11, footnote 19 on Page 16.

2.1.2 Nouns

2.1.2.1 *Noun classification*

The two main classes of Yagaria nouns, numbered 1 and 2, have been established on the basis of morphological rather than semantic criteria. Because of differences of the noun stem endings (closed vs. open syllables) most inflection markers are suffixed to class 1 and class 2 nouns in different allomorphic forms. The suffix allomorphs contrast with each other initially either as consonant vs. vowel, or stop vs. continuant.

There is, however, a group of nouns comprising kinship terms, and since most of those nouns occur with suffixes denoting inalienable possession, they cannot be distributed into the classes 1 and 2. Those nouns therefore have to be treated separately, they are included into

a third class which had to be established on the basis of morphological (inalienable possession expressed by suffixes) as well as semantic criteria (kinship).

2.1.2.11 Class 1

The nouns belonging to this class, may denote animates and inanimates. They may be inalienably possessed nouns (denoted by prefix), and others.

Class 1 nouns occur in two forms, a long form carrying the suffix -na, and a short form in which the suffix is omitted, and the syllable preceding it ends in a glottal stop.

ana / a'	*woman*
yona / yo'	*house*
yana / ya'	*taro*
gokolena / gokole'	*chicken*

The long form, which occurs less frequently than the short form, is used for citation, and sometimes as subject, mainly in intransitive clauses.

ba yana ege gilena *sweet potatoes, taro, bananas, and*
sweet potato taro banana corn corn

ana hoya no'- eli-e *the woman is working*
woman work PROG-*do*- IND

The long form may also occur occasionally as object:

ve agaea ana eli- d- i- e *the man took the woman*
man he woman take-PAST-3.SG-IND

The short form occurs as subject in intransitive clauses, and as object.

faya' ni- pi' bei- d- i- e *there are fish in the water*
fish water-IN *live*-PAST-3.SG-IND

yale pagaea yo' gi- d- a- e *the people built a house*
people they house build-PAST-3.PL-IND

Suffixation occurs only with the short form, except for the equation marker which is suffixed to the long form.

gina / gi'	*path*
gi- to'	*on the path*
path-AD	

ulinana / ulina' *shade*
ulina-pi' *in the shade*
shade-IN

gokolena / gokole' *chicken*
gokole- di *my chicken*
chicken-my

Inflection suffixes which have different allomorphic forms, occur with class 1 nouns in the form with initial consonant (vs. vowel with class 2), or stop (vs. continuant with class 2).

Note: There are nouns which have stems ending in -na, they belong to class 2 (cf. 2.1.2.12). A special group are the nouns with the suffix -'na, they also belong mainly to class 2, with a few exceptions. e.g.
hagóte'na *germ* which is a class 1 noun:
hagóte-'a *its germ*
germ- its
Note: The clitic -bona *matter/thing* behaves somewhat like a class 1 noun, as it occurs carrying class 1 allomorph suffixes -se' (benefactive) and -ba' (pivotal marker), and also occurs in the short form -bo'. Its occurrence is restricted to the following: With demonstrational prefixes ma- and na- (cf. 2.1.4) and with verbs which carry the pivotal marker (cf. 2.3.3.23.2 and 2.3.3.24.2).

2.1.2.12 Class 2

Class 2 includes, like class 1, nouns denoting animates and inanimates, inalienably possessed nouns (denoted by prefix) and others.

Class 2 nouns occur only in one form, ending in an open syllable. The nouns without suffix may occur as subject in intransitive clauses, and as object.

bade o- d- i- e *the boy came*
boy come-Past-3.SG-IND

gala-ma' bade hao- d- i- e *the dog bit the boy*
dog- PIV *boy bite*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Suffixation of any kind occurs directly to the noun. Inflection suffixes which have different allomorphic forms, occur with class 2 nouns in the form with initial vowel (vs. consonant in class 1) or continuant (vs. stop in class 1).

gayale *pig*
gayale-di *my pig*
pig- my

hoya *garden*
hoya- vi' *in the garden*
garden-IN

igopa *ground*
igopa- lo' *on the ground*
ground-AD

There are some class 2 nouns ending in -na, but that syllable is part of the noun stem, and is never omitted. Suffixation occurs following that syllable.

bina *price*
bina- 'a *its price*
price-its
bina- e' da-hapei-d- i- e *he told me about the price*
price-BEN *me-tell-* PAST-3.SG-IND

Another group of class 2 nouns which could be classed as a special sub-class, comprises nouns which behave somewhat like class 1 nouns. Most of them are nominalized verbs (cf. 2.3.3.21 Goal or action nominalizer). They all carry the suffix -'na[22], but also have a short form occurring without it and ending in a glottal stop. (These short forms function mainly as adjuncts, cf. 2.3.3.22 and 2.1.3.3). But all suffixation occurs with the long form carrying the suffix -'na.

dote'na *food*
dote' yava laga- 'a *edible tree-fruit*
edible tree fruit-its
dote'na-ka no- k- am- u- e *I am giving you your food*
food- your PROG-*you-give*-1.SG-IND

filite'na *death*
filite' yale *dead people*
dead people
filite'na-e' l- amota no'- ei-e *we are afraid of death*
death- BEN *us-* PROG- IND
fear

2.1.2.13 Class 3

Since class 3 nouns are all kinship terms, this class includes only animates which are inalienably possessed by suffixation. Because of the obligatory possessive suffixes, in most cases it cannot be determined whether the noun itself ends in a closed or an open syllable. Class 3 nouns are usually cited with the possessive morpheme of the 3. person singular suffixed to them.

Note: The 3. person singular suffix -'a is ambiguous, and can be a personal as well as a possessive pronoun. The noun e'ava'a *his father*, for instance, could be explained either as e-'a- va-'a or as e-'a- va-'a

	-*his*-	*his*		-*his*-	*he*
	father-			*father*-	

That the second explanation is possible, is proven by a form like e-da-va-'a *my father*

-*my*-	*he*	
father		

For the sake of simplicity, also kinship terms have been entered into this class which may occasionally occur without suffixes (e.g. as vocatives). Not included in class 3, however, are nouns which have a "neutral" meaning as well as a kinship meaning, e.g. bade *boy/son*, abade *girl/daughter*.

Inflection suffixes follow the possessive suffix, and occur in the same allomorphic form as they do with class 2 nouns.

avo- di-ma' *my father* subj
father-my-PIV

hinapu' bade ita- 'a- loga bei- d- i- e *the little boy is with*
young boy mother-his-AD *live*-PAST-3.SG-IND *his mother*

Some kinship terms, besides carrying the possessive suffixes, have obligatory possessive infixation. For those, cf. 2.1.2.22.

With some kinship terms, obligatory or optional prefixation occurs:

d- agana- di *my younger brother*
my-younger brother-my

da-sa- di *my sister*
my-sister-my

nalu-di *my wife*
wife-my

da-nalu-di *my wife*
my-wife-my

Especially mentioned should be the two kinship morphemes eva *father* and ila *mother* which occur as class 3 nouns (cf. 2.1.1.43 and 2.1.2.22), but also as suffixes to proper names:

Hane-'eva *Hane's father*
Hane-father

Saesi-'ila *Saesi's mother*
Saesi-mother

Such suffixed names are very frequently used instead of proper names of the people with children, and tend to turn into proper names themselves.

2.1.2.2 *Possession*

For the majority of nouns, possession is optional, and is expressed mainly by suffixes, or by free pronoun phrases. Inalienable possession occurs with body parts and other items belonging essentially to a person, and with kinship terms.

For inalienably possessed nouns, there are three ways of expressing possession:

prefixation, with body parts and other items belonging essentially to a person,
infixation, with four kinship terms and one body part,
suffixation, with all kinship terms of class 3.

2.1.2.21 Obligatory prefixation

Body parts occur with obligatory possessive prefixes, and so do nouns denoting items belonging essentially to a person, like agi *name*, ámuna *breath*, eimuta *seat*, age *reputation*, muna *sore*.

The prefixes are described in 2.1.1.42.

d- agenopa *my head*
my-head

da-muna *my sore*
my-sore

d- eimuta *my seat*
my-seat

Exceptions from the rule are the following body parts which never occur with prefixation, but are optionally suffixed to indicate possession:

galéna *penis* ikona *navel* duna *breast*

galé- di *my penis*
penis-my

iko- di *my navel*
navel-my

du- 'a *her breast*
breast-her

The noun lugona *neck/throat* carries optional prefixation or suffixation, or both, cf. 2.1.2.24.

Emanations from the body occur in two groups.
eiva *faeces*, latu *urine*, golana *blood*, and ona *pus* never occur with prefixation, but are optionally suffixed to indicate possession:

eiva- 'a *his faeces*
faeces-his

latu- di *my urine*
urine-my

gola- ka *your blood*
blood-your

o- 'a *his pus*
pus-his

eidana *saliva*, eise *sweat*, ounu *tear*, and heinitu *mucus* occur with prefixation:

d- eidana *my saliva*
my-saliva

g- eise *your sweat*
your-sweat

d- ounu *my tears*
my-tear

da-heinitu *my mucus*
my-mucus

Inalienable possession is expressed by obligatory prefixation with the noun valu *agemate*, and with the clitic ao'- *friend*.

da-valu — *my agemate*
my-agemate

da-valu- di-ma' — *my agemate* subj
my-agemate-my-PIV

d- ao'- ve — *my friend*
my-friend-man

d- ao'- yale — *my friends*
my-friend-people

Inalienable possession expressed by obligatory prefixation, occurs with some kinship terms, cf. 2.1.2.13.

All inalienably possessed nouns with obligatory prefixation have optional suffixation as well:

d- agota-di — *my nose*
my-nose- my

2.1.2.22 Obligatory infixation

The five nouns described in 2.1.1.43 take possessive infixes. Optional suffixation occurs in addition, though the 3. person singular suffix may be ambiguous, cf. 2.1.2.13, note.

e-da- va-di-ma' — *my father* subj
-*my*-
my-PIV
father-

e-da- va-'a — *my father*
-*my*-
he
father-

i-da- la-di-ma' — *my mother* subj
-*my*-
my-PIV
mother-

i-da- la-'a — *my mother*
-*my*-
she
mother-

ei-da-gina — *my bowels*
-*my*-
bowels

ei-da-gi-di *my bowels*
-my- my
bowels-

2.1.2.23 Obligatory suffixation

Obligatory suffixation to denote possession, occurs with most kinship terms of noun class 3. The suffixes occur as described in 2.1.1.41.

For nouns which have, besides the kinship meaning, a "neutral" meaning, and are therefore not included in class 3, the suffixation is optional:

bade-di *my son*
boy- my

abade-ti *our daughter*
girl- our

Exceptions from the suffixation rule may occur when kinship terms are used to address relatives. This kind of vocative does not carry a possessive suffix.

avo *father!* (cf. also 2.1.2.8)

Prefixation which occurs obligatorily or optionally with kinship terms in addition to the suffixation, is described in 2.1.2.13.

2.1.2.24 Alienable Possession

The greater majority of nouns belongs to this group. Suffixation is the rule to express possession, prefixation occurs very rarely, and only with nouns belonging into semantic groups of nouns which in general are inalienably possessed (body parts, kinship terms).

The possessive suffixes occur as described in 2.1.1.41. With class 1 nouns, they are suffixed to the short form of the noun.

Optional prefixation to express possession, occurs with some kinship terms and body parts, e.g. nalu'a *his wife* (2.1.2.13) and lugona *neck:*

da-lugona *my neck*
my-neck

lugo-di *my neck*
neck-my

da-lugo-di *my neck*
my-neck-my

2.1.2.3 *Pivotal marker*

The pivotal marker gives the noun to which it is suffixed, a central position in a noun phrase or a clause.

The pivotal marker occurs as a suffix with the following allomorphs:

-ma' after open syllables, i.e. after class 2 nouns and possessive suffixes,

-ba' after closed syllables, i.e. class 1 nouns (the glottal stop disintegrates into the b, cf. 1.2).

ve- ma' — *the man*
man-PIV

bade-ma' — *the boy*
boy- PIV

a- ba' — *the woman*
woman-PIV

a- 'a- ma' — *his wife*
woman-his-PIV

bade-'a- ma' — *his son*
boy- his-PIV

Since the marking of the subject in a transitive clause is obligatory, the pivotal marker occurs as agentive marker in transitive clauses (in the same way as a personal pronoun does, cf. 2.1.1.12).

ve- ma' gayale hao- d- i- e — *the man shot the pig*
man-PIV *pig* *shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND

The pivotal marker may also occur as subject marker in intransitive clauses, but that marking is optional.

a- ba' o- d- i- e — *the woman came*
woman-PIV *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND

The pivotal marker also functions as marker of the possessor in a possession phrase:

ve- ma' bade — *the man's son*
man-PIV *boy*

a- ba' abade — *the woman's daughter*
woman-PIV *girl*

a'i yo- ba' agi- 'a *the name of that village*
that village-PIV *name-its*

(This kind of phrase resembles the Hebrew construct-absolute phrase, with the noun carrying the pivotal marker, taking the place of the absolute case.)

The pivotal marker also occurs with verbs in participle-like forms, cf. 2.3.3.23.

2.1.2.4 *Benefactive*

The benefactive marker occurs as a suffix with the following allomorphs:

-e' after open syllables, i.e. class 2 nouns and possessive suffixes,

-se' after closed syllables, i.e. class 1 nouns and suffixes ending in closed syllables (the glottal stop disintegrates into the s, cf. 1.2).

The benefactive marker could be glossed with: *for, in view of, with regard to, about, because of*

m- igopa-e' ga- hapei-d- u- e *I told you about this land*
this-land- BEN *you-tell-* PAST-1.SG-IND

gagae-se' d- amota ei-d- i- e *I was afraid of you*
you- BEN *me-afraid* - PAST-3.SG-IND

yo- se' no- s- un- e *we are talking about the house*
house-BEN PROG-*speak*-1.PL-IND

valu- 'a- ma- se' gavu ao-d- i- e *he searched for his friend*
friend-his-PIV-BEN *search-* PAST-3.SG-IND

hoya- e' ge vei-d- a- e *they argued about the garden*
garden-BEN *argue-* PAST-3.PL-IND

If the benefactive marker is suffixed after an open syllable ending in -e, vowel assimilation takes place:

pagae' ge- e' da-hei' no'- v- ei- e
their word-BEN *me-anger* PROG-*envelop*-3.SG-IND

> pagae' ge' dahei' no'veie *I am angry about their talk*

Adessive and benefactive marker combined occur as an expanded suffix with benefactive meaning, with the following allomorphs:

-lose' after open syllables,
-tose' after closed syllables (glottal stop disintegrates into the stop, cf. 1.2).

gayale-lose' no- s- un- e *we are talking about the pig*
pig- BEN PROG-*speak*-1.PL-IND

a- tose' ge vuyu vuyu ne- s- a- e *they are arguing about the*
woman-BEN *word* PROG- 3.PL-IND *woman*
argue-

2.1.2.5 *Locatives*

Formally and semantically, four locatives have to be distinguished:

Adessive: Position at, or movement to
Inessive: Position in, or movement into
Ablative: Movement away from
Elative: Movement out of

All locatives can express temporals when suffixed to nouns with a temporal meaning.

2.1.2.51 Adessive

With inanimates, the adessive marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-lo' after open syllables
-to' after closed syllables

gipa-to' *at the door*
door-AD

igopa- lo' *on the ground*
ground-AD

yavá- to' *on the stone*
stone-AD

yáva- lo' *on the timber*
timber-AD

yo- to' *at the house*
house-AD

Note: Reduplication of this word expresses ubiquity, yoto' yoto' *at all places*, cf. also the reduplication yo'e' yo'e', 2.1.2.7.

yo- 'a- lo' *at his house*
house-his-AD

With animates, the adessive suffix occurs also with two allomorphs:

-loga after open syllables
-toga after closed syllables

a- toga *at the woman*
woman-AD

bade-loga *at the boy*
boy- AD

dagae-toga *at me*
I- AD

This morpheme is obligatory with animates, it may, however, also occur with inanimates. That use is optional, its occurrence not too frequent.

gi- toga *at the path*
path-AD

yo- toga *at the house*
house-AD

yo- 'a- loga *at his house*
house-his-AD

haopa-loga *at the side*
side- AD

The locational morpheme -ga which is part of -loga/-toga, occurs also with locational or temporal expressions with which is inseparably connected:

buga	*over there*	hoga	*left*
bega	*over there*	lamaga	*right*
biga	*over there*	gavuga	*year*
mega	*on the surface*	henaga	*afterwards*
gelega	*back*	ega	*one day from now*
fega	*at daytime*	olega	*two days from now*

Other suffixing, however, may occur after the morpheme -ga:

The adessive suffix: buga- lo' *over there*
over there-AD

bega- lo' *over there*
over there-AD

biga- lo' *over there*
over there-AD

The morpheme -ga may also be expanded with a directional morpheme -yaga to -gayaga (open syllables)/ -kayaga (closed syllables):

ma- gayaga	*over here, this way*
this-AD	
hoga-gayaga	*to the left, at the left*
left-AD	
lamaga-gayaga	*to the right, at the right*
right- AD	
Getoli-gayaga	*at Getoli, towards Getoli*
Getoli-AD	
bogo-kayaga	*on one side, to one side*
one- AD	
Hagavi-kayaga	*towards Hagavi, at Hagavi*
Hagavi-AD	
buga- gayaga	*towards over there*
over there-AD	

2.1.2.52 Inessive

The inessive marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-vi' after open syllables
-pi' after closed syllables

yo- pi'	*in the house, into the house*
house-IN	
yo- pi- vi'	*in their house, into their house*
house-their-IN	
gipa-pi'	*in the door, into the door*
door-IN	
hoya- vi'	*in the garden, into the garden*
garden-IN	
igopa- vi'	*in (to) the ground, in (to) the land*
ground-IN	
ni- pi'	*in the water, into the water*
water-IN	
yege bogo-vi'	*on another day*
sun one- IN	

dete- pi' *in the morning*
morning-IN

Another inessive marker, an expanded type of the one just described, occurs as a suffix with three allomorphs:

-vinaga	after open syllables
-pinaga	after closed syllables
-inaga	after closed syllables which retain their glottal stop, and after open syllables in instances where the vowel is assimilated

yao- vinaga *in the forest*
forest-IN

yo- pinaga *in the house*
house-IN

hani'-inaga *in the night*
night-IN

(ei- + inaga >) ei- naga *in the heart* *inside a person*
bowels-IN *bowels*-IN

Examples of adessive and inessive markers being used synonymously, are:

agovetu-lo' *on top (of)*
top- AD

agovetu-vi' *on top (of)*
top- IN

ae motu-lo' *on top of the mountain*
mountain peak-AD

ae motu-vi' *on top of the mountain*
mountain peak-IN

The inessive is also used occasionally where adessive could be expected:

yava aepa-vi' *at the bottom of the tree*
tree *base*-IN

The locational expression hita-gi- pi' *under the bed*
bed- *opening*-IN

is also used as general free locative word *underneath*

yavá' hitagipi' *under the stone*
stone *underneath*

2.1.2.53 Ablative

The general ablative morpheme is -ti', it occurs, however, as often as not isolated from either an adessive or inessive morpheme[23], therefore the separation of ablative and elative seems more appropriate than their combination.

With inanimates, the ablative marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-loti' after open syllables
-toti' after closed syllables

hoya- loti' *from the garden*
garden-AB

guma- toti' *from the village*
village-AB

With animates, the ablative suffix occurs with two allomorphs:

-logati' after open syllables
-togati' after closed syllables

gayale-logati' *from the pig*
pig- AB

gokole- togati' *from the chicken*
chicken-AB

pagae-togati' *from them*
they- AB

This morpheme is obligatory with animates, it may, however, also occur with inanimates. That use is optional, its occurrence not too frequent.

yo- togati' no'-e *he is coming from the house*
house-AB PROG-*come* 3.SG IND

yo- 'a- logati' no'- e *he is coming from his house*
house-his-AB PROG-*come* 3.SG IND

The occurrence of -ti' together with the adessive morpheme -ga is not too frequent. It is found in directional expressions:

gelegati *backwards*
bugagayagati' *from over there*

2.1.2.54 Elative

The elative marker occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-viti' after open syllables
-piti' after closed syllables

igopa- viti' *out of the ground, out of the land*
ground-EL

ni- piti' *out of the water*
water-EL

yo- piti' *out of the house*
house-EL

yo- pi- viti' *out of their house*
house-their-EL

dete- piti' *from the morning on*
morning-EL

An expanded elative marker morpheme occurs as suffix with three allomorphs:

-vinagati' after open syllables
-pinagati' after closed syllables
-inagati after closed syllables which retain their glottal stop, and after open syllables in instances where the vowel is assimilated

yao- vinagati' *out of the forest*
forest-EL

yo- pinagati' *out of the house*
house-EL

hani'-inagati' *out of the darkness*
night-EL

(ei- + inagati' >) ei- nagati' *from his heart*
bowels-EL *bowels*-EL

An example of the elative marker being used where the ablative marker (being morphologically identical with the instrumentive marker) would be expected:

pagae' ge- viti' hi- d- a- e *they spoke in their language*
their *language*-EL *speak*-PAST-3.PL-IND

2.1.2.6 *Instrumentive*

The instrumentive marker is morphologically identical with the ablative marker, it occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-loti' after open syllables
-toti' after closed syllables

It denotes the instrument with which an action is performed, or the material from which something is made.

lu- toti' hali poloti-d- i- e *he split firewood with an axe*
axe-INST *firewood split-* PAST-3.SG-IND

gave- loti' da-begi-d- i- e *he hit me with a stick*
stick-INST *me-hit-* PAST-3.SG-IND

yavá- toti' lu' elo hi-d- a- e *they made axes from stone*
stone-INST *axe make-* PAST-3.PL-IND

bakisave eipa- loti' vuyuli vuyuli no- s- i- e *the snake is*
snake belly-INST PROG- 3.SG-IND *crawling on his belly*
crawl-

For geviti' *in the language* (means of expression), cf. 2.1.2.54.

2.1.2.7 *Comitative*

The comitative markers are -'e' and -'ese' which occur as suffixes and are glossed as *with* or *together with*. Both markers have the same meaning and distribution, and there are no allomorphs of either of them. They may be suffixed directly to the noun, or after a possessive and/or pivotal marker.

avo- 'a- 'e' *with his father*
father-his-COM

avo- 'a- 'ese' *with his father*
father-his-COM

avo- 'a- ma- 'e' *with his father*
father-his-PIV-COM

avo- 'a- ma- 'ese' *with his father*
father-his-PIV-COM

bade-'e' *with the boy*
boy- COM

bade-'ese' *with the boy*
boy- COM

igopa ni- 'ese' *land with water* (i.e. moist, fertile soil)
*ground water-*COM

The comitative marker is used as conjunction when it occurs on several nouns in succession:

dagae-'e' yale- di-'e' *I and my people*
I- COM *people-my-*COM

agaea halitipa-'ese' hagita-'e' eli- d- i- e *he took fire and a*
he *fire-* COM *knife-* COM *take-*PAST-3.SG-IND *knife*

lole-'e' bogo-'e' *three*
two- COM *one-* COM

The repetition of nouns carrying the comitative marker, has a distributive function, expressing local or temporal ubiquity:

igopa-'e' igopa-'e' *in all lands, on the whole earth*
land- COM *land-* COM

yo- 'e' yo- 'e' *in all inhabited places*
*house-*COM *house-*COM

yege-'e' yege-'e' *day by day, every day*
sun- COM *sun-* COM

dete- 'e' dete- 'e' *every morning*
*morning-*COM *morning-*COM

Note: bogo- 'e' *once more*
*another-*COM

There is another comitative morpheme, -gi, which occurs very seldom on its own. It usually occurs together with one of the other comitative markers as expanded form -gi'e' or -gi'ese'. It occurs mainly, but not exclusively, with personal pronouns and proper names, and, if repeated with subsequent nouns, has also a conjunctive function. If occurring with pronouns, it is suffixed to the short open form of the pronoun.

lagagae-gi'e' lo'-no- kao- e *I am joining you* pl
you pl- COM PROG- IND
join 1.SG-

e- pa- va- gi bo- pa- va- gi *their fathers and tutors*
their- COM *their-* COM
father- *tutor-*

2.1.2.8 *Vocative*

The vocative marker is -o, suffixed to the noun either directly or after possessive, pivotal or connective marker:

ve- di-o *my friend*
man-my-VOC

ve- di-ma- o *my friend!*
man-my-PIV-VOC

(ve- di-mo- + -o >) ve- di- mo *my friend!*
man-my-CON- VOC *man-my-* CON VOC

apa- o *brother!*
older brother-VOC

da-valu- o *my friend!* (said by male of male)
my-friend- VOC

ahu- o *my friend!* (said by female of female)
friend-VOC

avo- di-o *father!*
father-my-VOC

A vocative marker occurring with the dual, is -gila'a:

da-valu- gila'a *my two friends!*
my-friend-VOC DL

Other vocative markers occur with the plural:

-gila: da-valu- gila *my friends!*
my-friend-VOC PL

-la: ma- yale- magi-la *you people here!*
this-people-PL- VOC PL

-guse': ve- guse' *you men!*
man-VOC PL

Other ways of expressing vocative, are:
Kinship terms used without possessive suffixes:

apa *brother!*
avo *father!*
ató *mother!*

Also other nouns may be used occasionally without suffixation as vocatives:

d- ao'- ve *my friend!*
my-friend-man

Nouns and proper names with preceding de *human person:*

de avo *father!*
man father

de ato *mother!*
woman mother

de apa *brother!*
man older brother

de apa- o *brother*
man older brother-VOC

de Uulo *Uulo! Mr. Uulo!*
man Uulo

Suffixation of personal marker of 2. person singular after the pivotal marker:

apa- di-ma- ga *my brother!*
older brother-my-PIV-*you* sg

avo- ti- ma- ga *our father!*
father-our-PIV-*you* sg

Vocative may also be expressed by prefixed demonstrative:

ma- yale *people!*
this-people

2.1.2.9 *Equation*

The equation marker is -e'[24], it occurs mainly in non-verbal clauses and functions as a kind of copula which does not exist in Yagaria as a separate word. It occurs suffixed only to open syllables, in the case of class 1 nouns and personal pronouns to the long forms of both.

Hane agae' nalu-'a- e' *it is Hane's wife*
Hane his wife-his-EQ

Hane agae' ana- e' *it is Hane's wife*
Hane his woman-EQ

gayale-'a- e' *it is his pig*
pig- his-EQ

ima yava dalepa- e' *that tree there is a casuarina*
there tree casuarina-EQ

dagaea-e' *it is I*
I- EQ

The equation marker also occurs with the citation of proper names:

agi- 'a Veyamo-e' hi- io *call* pl *him Veyamo!*
name-his Veyamo-EQ *speak*-IM PL

Recent developments of language usage include greeting formulas in analogy to Pidgin greetings. Those formulas carry the equation marker:

dete'- na- e' *good morning*
morning-COMP-EQ

ute'- na- e' *good afternoon, good evening*
evening-COMP-EQ

fega- e' *good day*
at daytime-EQ

hani'-inaga-e' *good night*
night-IN- EQ

2.1.2.1-0 *Interrogative*

The interrogative markers which are basically verb suffixes, but also occur with substantives, mainly in non-verbal interrogative clauses, are described under 2.3.2.4., also with regard to their occurrence with substantives.

2.1.2.1-1 *Negative*

The negative marker occurs as suffix with three allomorphs, -opa, -ope, and -nope. -opa and -ope are mutually exchangeable, they occur after open syllables. -nope is a contraction of n or glottal stop plus -ope. The negative marker occurs, as the equation marker, mainly in non-verbal clauses.

de- opa *it is not a man*
man-NEG

igopa-ope *it is not the land*
land- NEG

yo- nope *it is not a house*
house-NEG

dagae-opa *it is not I*
I -NEG

m- igopa-lo-nope *it is not in this land*
this-land -AD-NEG

ma- lo-nope *it is not here*
this-AD-NEG

ma- yo- nope *it is not this house*
this-house-NEG

haga' ege- ope *it is not a tasty banana*
tasty banana-NEG

2.1.2.1-2 *Number*

In general, there are no number markers with persons except the personal pronouns. Number is usually not indicated at all with inanimates and smaller animals, but if a number has to be denoted, numerals are used. Some suffixes which serve as number markers, are described in the following.

Singular: The noun gano *person, individual* occurs as a clitic to indicate singularity. It occurs with two allomorphs:

-gano after open syllables
-kano after closed syllables[25]

a- kano-ma' *a woman, the one woman*
woman-SG- PIV

ve- gano-ma' *a man, the one man*
man-SG- PIV

gayale-gano *a pig, the one pig*
pig- SG

Dual marker -gi'a occurs not too frequently on its own:

da-valu- gi'a *my two agemates*
my-agemate-DL

More often, though, the marker occurs in an expanded form which could be explained as a dual form of the pivotal marker. That expanded form occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-magi'a after open syllables
-bagi'a after closed syllables

bade-magi'a *the two boys*
boy- DL

gayale-magi'a *the two pigs*
pig- DL

a- bagi'a *the two women*
*woman-*DL

Another expanded form occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-magiteti after open syllables
-bagiteti after closed syllables

bade-magiteti *the two boys*
boy- DL

a- bagiteti *the two women*
*woman-*DL

Furthermore, the 3. person dual personal pronoun suffixes (cf. 2.1.1.21.1), and the numeral lole *two* (cf. 2.1.7) may be used to indicate dual.

veale ve- lata *the two spouses*
married people-they dl

bade-lata lole *the two boys*
boy- they dl *two*

abade-lata- 'a *his two daughters*
girl- they dl-*his*

a- tata *the two women*
woman-they dl

Plural marker -gi[26] occurs not too frequently on its own:

da-valu- gi *my agemates*
*my-agemate-*PL

More often, the marker occurs in an expanded form which could be explained as a plural form of the pivotal marker. That expanded form occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-magi after open syllables
-bagi after closed syllables

pagae' bade-magi *their boys*
their boy -PL

a'i yo- toti' a- bagi *the women from that village*
that house-AB *woman*-PL

The suffix -la occurs infrequently to denote plural other than vocative (cf. 2.1.2.8):

g- ao- k- aemi- la *your friends and affines*
your-friend-your-son in law-PL

Note: Semantically pluralic are the following nouns:

yale	*people*
lu	*group*
luna	*group of descendants*
yuva	*group, crowd*

These nouns may be modified by other nouns, and form with them a phrase which is pluralic:

bade yuva *the boys*
boy group

game' yale *the enemies*
fight people

2.1.2.1-3 *Restrictive*

The restrictive marker may be glossed as *self, alone, just, completely*. As it implies also intensification, it could in some instances be glossed as *very*. It occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-go'	after open syllables
-ko'	after closed syllables[27]

The marker is only infrequently suffixed directly to nouns:

ve- go' *just male*
man-RE

a- ko' *just female*
woman-RE

It occurs more often with pronouns, and also with adverbial expressions. With nouns, it is mostly suffixed after possession and other markers:

dagae-ko' *I alone*
I- RE

dagae-di- go' *just myself*
I- myself- RE

hani- keva- go' *just great darkness, very great darkness*
*night-great-*RE

hava'a- go' *just without purpose*
*without purpose-*RE

hemeti-go' no'- hav- u- e *I hear that just now*
now- RE PROG-*hear*-1.SG-IND

2.1.2.1-4 *Relation*

The relation marker -'i' occurs only with nouns or noun phrases which are semantically dual or plural, and denotes relation (e.g. possession) between that noun or noun phrase, and another noun or phrase.

a'i yale- 'i' yona *the house of those people*
*that people-*REL *house*

bade yuva- 'i' avo- pi- ma' *the father of the boys*
*boy group-*REL *father-their-*PIV

a'i bade-lata- 'i' ta- valu- ti'a- magi *the agemates of*
that boy- they dl-REL *their* dl-*agemate-their* dl-PL *those two boys*

a- tata- 'i' ge *the story of the two women*
woman-they dl-REL *word*

The benefactive marker may be suffixed after the relation marker:

a'i yale- 'i- se' ga- ha- no- p- ou- e *I am telling you about*
*that people-*REL-BEN *you-* PROG- 1.SG-IND *those people*
tell

If the relation marker is suffixed after a word final -i, then vowel assimilation takes place:

e - 'a - go- 'a- magi-'i' dote'na > e'ago'amagi' dote'na *the food of his older brothers*
-his-
*older brother-his-*PL- REL *food*

2.1.2.1-5 *Connective Particle*

The connective particle occurs as a suffix with two allomorphs:

-mo after open syllables
-bo after closed syllables

It is the most frequently re-occurring morpheme in speech, cannot

be glossed, and in general is untranslatable. Its occurrence is not restricted to nouns, it occurs also with other words in a clause. Its functions are to connect the words in speech, especially in longer clauses, and to focus attention on certain words to which it is suffixed. With personal pronouns, it is suffixed to the short open form.

pagae-pi- go-bo ba eli- da e- da emu-
they- themselves RE-CON *sweet potato take*-3.PL *come*-3.PL *earth oven-*
mo gi- da de- d- a- e
CON *cook*-3.PL *eat*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they themselves brought the sweet potatoes, cooked them in the earth oven, and ate them

Note: This sentence would be grammatically correct and intelligible without the connective markers:

pagae-pi- go' ba eli- da e- da emu
they- themselves-RE *sweet potato take*-3.PL *come*-3.PL *earth oven*
gi- da de- d- a- e
cook-3.PL *eat*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they themselves brought the sweet potatoes, cooked them in the earth oven, and ate them

In non-verbal clauses consisting mainly of nouns, the connective particle has been observed as a kind of link between subject and predicate, putting the subject into focus:

ma- hoya- mo a- ba' eli- d- i- ma' hoya- e'
this-garden-CON *woman*-PIV *make*-PAST-3.SG-PIV *garden*-EQ
this garden is the garden which the woman planted

dagae-mo d- agi- di-mo Imala-ma- da *my name is Imala*
I- CON *my-name-my*-CON *Imala*-PIV-*I*

Note: These clauses would be grammatically correct and intelligible without the connection markers:

dagaea d- agi- di Imala-ma- da *my name is Imala*
I *my-name-my* *Imala*-PIV-*I*

The connective particle tends to be used much more frequently by older and/or less sophisticated people. Because of its focalizing function, more sophisticated people try to avoid focalisation on too many points of a clause at once, and tend to leave it out of speech.

2.1.2.1-6 *Complemental marker*

The complemental marker, the clitic -na, can be glossed as *matter, thing, property of*. It has to be distinguished from the

suffix -na which occurs in the long form of class 1 nouns, since the complemental marker occurs in suffixation to the short form of class 1 nouns which retain the glottal stop.

We may, e.g., compare hanina / hani' *night*
with hani'-na *something belonging to the night, matter of darkness*
night-COMP
and hani'hani' *black*
with hani'hani'-na *something black, black object*
black- COMP

Other examples:

ouva-lo'-na *thing belonging on his body* (i.e. clothing)
body-AD- COMP

hoya- na *garden matter*
garden-COMP

The complemental marker occurs also in the verb-derived -te'na - nouns of class 2 (cf. 2.1.2.12)

dote'- na *edible matter* (i.e. food)
edible-COMP

Furthermore, it occurs:

with pronouns: agae'-na *his matter, his business*
he- COMP

with demonstratives: ma- na *this matter*
this-COMP
na- na *that matter*
that-COMP
na- na- ma' *that matter*
that-COMP-PIV
a'i- na *that matter*
that-COMP

with verbs: eli- d- i- ma'-na *the thing which he got*
take-PAST-3.SG-PIV-COMP

with adjectives: It is suffixed to adjectives which occur as predicative adjuncts, cf. 2.1.3.

Words carrying the complemental marker, behave like class 2 nouns, that means noun markers may be suffixed to them as to open syllables.

hoya- na- e' ga- hapei-s- u- e *I shall tell you about the*
garden-COMP-BEN *you-tell-* IFUT-1.SG-IND *things of the garden*

dote'- na- vi' hano- d- i- e *it is in the food*
edible-COMP-IN *exist*-PAST-3.SG-IND

The complemental marker may even take the place of a noun, and, though being a clitic, form a structure with a preceding modifier which is actually a phrase, though its appearance is that of a word.

na- na- ma' da-habao-d- i- e *that thing has helped me*
that-COMP-PIV *me-help-* PAST-3.SG-IND

ma- na- loti' begi-o *hit it with this*
this-COMP-INST *hit-* IM SG

ougegesa-na eli- 'o *take* dl *the big one!*
big- COMP *take*-IM DL

eli- d- i- ma'-na- lo' *on the thing which he got*
take-PAST-3.SG-PIV-COMP-AD

2.1.3 Adjectives

To establish the group of words described hereunder, functional criteria had to be used. For the purpose of this grammar, an adjective is defined as a word occurring as attributive or predicative adjunct with nouns[28].

The description of adjectives poses many problems. The easiest way would be to avoid the term "adjective" with its underlying concept altogether as being foreign to the language. Many words fitting the above definition of "adjective", could then be dealt with in other grammatical categories, being derivations from nouns or verbs. There are, however, a number of words which cannot be explained as either a nominal or a verbal form or derivation. These words, termed "Primary Adjectives", will be dealt with first in the following, and will be used to determine the morphological behaviour of "adjectives". The "Secondary Adjectives" are derivations from nouns or verbs, or local or temporal expressions occurring as noun adjuncts. They therefore exhibit some morphological features of their own, but generally the morphological system as established with the "primary adjectives", is applied to the "secondary adjectives" as well.

2.1.3.1 *Primary adjectives*

There are two groups of primary adjectives, those which follow the morphological pattern of class 1 nouns, and those which follow the pattern of class 2 nouns. Most adjectives exhibit a short or not-suffixed form for attributive occurrence, and a long or suffixed form for predicative occurrence. The long form ends in the syllable -na

which can be interpreted either as the closing syllable of the long form of class 1 nouns, or else as the complemental marker.

2.1.3.11 Class 1

Examples for adjectives following the noun class 1 pattern, are:

haga' / hagana	*tasty*
fagi' / fagina	*far*
fate' / fatena	*far*
havá' / havána	*unimportant*
lava' / lavana	*unimportant*
lakoli' / lakolina	*flat*
bonu' / bonuna	*round*
legi' / legina	*true*
havu' / havuna	*uncultivated*

All of these can be explained as resembling the short and the long form of class 1 nouns.

fagi' yale	*the far-away people*
yale lavana	*the people are unimportant*
haga' dote'na	*tasty food*
hagana	*it is tasty*
eve hagana	*the sugarcane is tasty*

Note: The adjectives havu' and lava' always follow the noun, also when they occur as attributive adjuncts in their short form.

The following adjectives occur with glottal stop also in their predicative form:

eise' / eise'na	*small*
sole' / sole'na	*plenty*
isa' / isa'na	*good*
laniteni' / laniteni'na	*damp*
la' / la'na	*big*

All of these can be explained as resembling the short forms of class 1 nouns with suffixed complemental marker.

sole' yale bei- d- a- e *there were many people*
plenty people live-PAST-3.PL-IND

yale sole'na bei- d- a- e *there was a multitude of people*
people plenty live-PAST-3.PL-IND

Note: The word gata' which can be classified as an adjective on the basis of morphological features, and can be glossed as *like, same, same way,* has a distribution different from other adjectives. It occurs following noun-like words, usually connected with them by a clitic -ga/-ya, or after verb forms with -gese'.

agae-'a- ga gata' *like himself*
he- himself-ga *like*

pagae' p- ougota-ga gata-nope *not like their image*
their their-face- ga *like*-NEG

i- da su he- di- gese' gata' *they all seem to have gone*
go-3.PL *finish*-PAST- gese' *like*

laisi-ya gata'-na- e' *it is like rice*
rice- ya *like-* COMP-EQ

Some adjectives have been found only in the attributive form, but their occurrence with the complemental marker is likely:

yatala' *long*
legeso' *unavailable*
beleke' *clear*
yovo' *level*
yo'yo' *light* (weight)

yovo' yava *a level piece of timber*
level timber

There are adjectives which in their predicative form replace the complemental marker -na by -a:

bonu' yavana *a round stone*
round stone

gei bonu'-a va'yu no- s-i- e *the full moon is rising*
moon round-COMP PROG- 3.SG-IND
appear

buki' yale *all people*
all people

yale buki'-a *all people*
people all- COMP

The adjective havana *small* occurs in its long form in attributive position, the predicative form is havana'a:

havana hoya *a small garden*
small garden

yale havana'-a e- d- a- e *few people came*
people small- COMP *come*-PAST-3.PL-IND

Note: havana could also be explained as following the pattern of class 2 nouns, with the syllable -na being part of the stem.

2.1.3.12 Class 2

Examples for adjectives following the noun class 2 pattern, are:

soko / sokona	*good*
feipa / feipana	*bad*
buko / bukona	*warm*
gata / gatana	*heavy*
hogo / hogona	*short*
hepa / hepana	*bad*
fotogo / fotogona	*good*

The short forms can be explained as resembling class 2 nouns, and the long forms as resembling class 2 nouns with suffixed complemental marker.

hogo de *short man*
short man

beite'na-ti hogona hano- d- i- e *our life is short*
life- *our short* *exist*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Some adjectives have been found mainly in attributive form, but their occurrence with the complemental marker is possible:

souva	*new*
tava	*old*
ougegesa	*big*
legepa	*nice*
lebe	*zealous*
hega	*stubborn*
yusa	*quiet*
valavala	*wet*
lepo	*lame*
lopa	*great*
lusi	*huge*
hipu	*cheeky*
hou	*dry*

gábe	*uninhabited*
fela	*wild*
degi	*dumb*
avú	*ripe*

avu ege *ripe banana*
tava gae *old loincloth*
lopa yale *the old people*

The preglottalisation of the complemental marker with the long forms of the following adjectives cannot be explained:

eigava / eigava'na	*new*
oupa / oupa'na	*short*
fofo / fofo'na	*good-smelling*

2.1.3.13 Inflection of adjectives

Adjectives may occur with the connective particle, and with the equation marker when occurring as predicative adjunct.

a'i- na ni' lavana- e' *that is ordinary water*
that-COMP *water ordinary*- EQ

Locative markers occur with adjectives which then function as locational expressions:

yatala-to' hano- d- i- e *it is at a high place*
long- AD *exist*-PAST-3.SG-IND

fagi-togati' o- d- u- e *I have come from far away*
far- AB *come*-PAST-1.SG-IND

The restrictive marker is suffixed in the allomorphic form -'ago' to the predicative form of the adjectives as intensifying morpheme:

havana-'ago' *just small* i.e. *very small, very few*
small RE

hagana-'ago' *just tasty* i.e. *very tasty*
tasty- RE

sokona-'ago' *just good* i.e. *very good*
good- RE

Reduplication of adjective stems occurs seldom, if it does, it may express multiplicity:

laga eise' eise'-na *many tiny seeds*
fruit small small-COMP

2.1.3.2 *Secondary adjectives derived from Nouns*

Secondary adjectives are derivations from nouns or verbs, or locational or temporal expressions occurring as noun adjuncts. The secondary adjectives show morphological features observed with the primary adjectives: The short forms are either closed by a glottal stop, or end in an open syllable, the long forms, if they occur, carry the marker -na or -'na. That falls in line with the class pattern observed with the primary adjectives.

Adjectives derived from class 2 nouns, are mostly morphologically identical with them, adjectives derived from class 1 nouns, usually occur in the short form of such nouns. Infrequently, compounding of nouns or reduplication is used to derive adjectives (examples are found in the following sections).

The examples given in the following, are arranged in such a way, that the nouns from which the adjectives are derived, are listed on the right[29].

General:

a'	*female*	ana	*woman*
beme'	*soft*	bemena	*vegetables*
vego	*round* (circle)	vego	*surrounding*
ve	*male*	ve	*man*
hatu	*bitter*	hatuna	*ginger*
hatuova'/hatuova'na	*bitter*	hatuna	*ginger*
loki	*firm*	lokia	*core of hardwood trunk*
youmi'	*fertile*	youmina	*abandoned garden*
yahoumi'	*fertile*	yahoumina	*abondoned garden*
yasi'	*cold*	yasi	*wind*

ve gokolena *rooster*
male chicken

a' gayale *sow*
female pig

vego yona *round house*
round house

yasi' nina *cold water*
cold water

beme' igopa *soft ground*
soft ground

A special form of derivation is -geva/ -keva *big*, which is derived from geva *trunk*, and occurs as a suffix.

hani- keva *great darkness*
night-great

Colour qualities:

egevu	*yellow*	egevu	*ripe banana*
gamolu'	*yellow*	gamoluna	*flower with yellow-greenish stem*
gamolu'ago'	*yellow*		
gadipa	*yellow*	gadipa	*species of cane*
golako'/golako'na	*red*	golana	*blood*
gituma'	*red*	gitumana	*species of plant for making red dye*
(for lote' *red*, cf. under 2.1.3.3)			
okavu'	*blue*	okavuna	*species of plant for making blue dye*
gokoni' aguina	*iridescent blue-green*	gokonina	*species of bird of paradise*
falupa' ougota'ae'na	*brown*	falupana	*something dead and dry* (e.g. leaves)
gumo	*green, blue*	gumo	*green beetle*
eigavako'	*green*	eigava	*new*
eigava sagava	*green*	eigava	*new*
eigava talili	*green*	eigava	*new*
gavu haeya	*green*	gavu haeya	*bush leaf*
yava haeya	*green*	yava haeya	*tree leaf*
háva	*pink*	háva	*albino*
efe'	*white*	efena	*white cockatoo*
vayevaye'/vayevayena	*white*	vayavena	*species of betelnut palm tree with white timber*
hani'hani'/hani'hani'na	*black*	hanina	*night*
nupa	*black*	nupa	*undeveloped leaves*

golako' gae *a red loincloth*
red loincloth

ma- gae golako'na *this loincloth is red*
this-loincloth red

okavu' gaveda *a blue string*
blue string

ma- gaveda okavu'na *this string is blue*
this-string blue

gadipa pepa *yellow paper*
yellow paper

ma- pepa gadipana *this paper is yellow*
this-paper yellow

gavu haeya buku *a green book*
green book

ma- buku-mo gavu haeyana *this book is green*[30]
this-book-CON *green*

2.1.3.3 *Secondary Adjectives derived from Verbs*

There are two groups of adjectives derived from verbs, the one consisting of the verb stem (sometimes compounded with another word, or reduplicated), the other one carrying the morpheme -te'. Examples are listed in the following sections.

General:

ado	*blunt*	a- do-	*to not eat*
		NEG-*eat*	
agasupa	*blunt*	agaso-	*to bypass*
galogalo	*loose*	galo-	*to break*
hágo	*kind*	hágo-	*to feel well*
hegoto'	*first*	hegoto-	*to be in front*
hogoto	*first*	hogoto-	*to be in front*
hoasu'	*bad*	ho asu-	*to be not good*
hu'asu'	*bad*	ho asu-	*to be not good*
pi	*straight*	pi ei-	*to straighten*
tuluvei'	*upright*	tuluvei-	*to be upright*
haga' asu'	*tasteless*	haga' asu-	*to be not tasty*
a'hano'	*unavailable*	a'- hano-	*to not exist*
		NEG-*exist*	

ado hagita *a blunt knife*
blunt knife

agasupa luna *a blunt axe*
blunt axe

hago de *a kind man*
kind man

hegoto' de *the first man*
first man

hu'asu' tu *a bad smell*
bad smell

tu hu'asu'na *the smell is bad*
smell bad

pi de *a straight man*
straight man

haga' asu' ege *a tasteless banana*
tasteless banana

Derivations with -te':

These derivations can theoretically be obtained from every verb. They have adjunctive as well as verbal functions, and are therefore treated briefly also in the verb section of the morphology, cf. 2.3.3.22.

The morpheme -te' has been termed "quality derivation marker". The derivations can often be glossed as participles *-ing, -ed,* or quality *-able.* Some derivations have assumed further meaning, e.g.
lo- te' *red.*
cook-QD

Examples:

lo- te' / le- te' *cook*-QD *cook*-QD	*cooked, cookable, red*
do- te' / de- te' *eat*-QD *eat*- QD	*edible, eating*
bei- te' *live*-QD	*living, alive*
fili-te' *die*- QD	*mortal, dead*
havi-te' *know*-QD	*knowing, intelligent*
hu- te' / hi- te' *speak*-QD *speak*-QD	*saying, uttered*

Note: Adjectives of this kind derived from verbs of classes 2 and 4, and from the irregular verbs of class 1, have two allomorphs, following the general ablaut rule with verb stems (cf. 2.3.1.1). More about that feature in 2.3.3.21 and 2.3.3.22.

lote' ba *cooked sweet potatoes*
lote' ege *cookable bananas* (which cannot be eaten raw)
lote' gae *red loincloth*
filite' yale *dead people*
havite' bade *intelligent boy*

A special feature of this kind of adjective is that they, in contrast to other, primary or noun-derived adjectives, can be negated by the verb negative prefix a'-, and thereby produce their own antonyms:

adote' *inedible*
afilite' *immortal, not dead*
abeite' *not alive, not here*
a'havite' *dumb*

adote' yava *tree with inedible fruit*
inedible tree

ma- lo' abeite' yale *the people which are not here*
this-AD *not living people*

The predicative forms of these adjectives have invariably more noun character than the long or predicative forms of any other adjective dealt with so far. They have to be regarded as full class 2 nouns, and are dealt with under 2.1.2.12, cf. also 2.3.3.21.

2.1.3.4 *Adjectives Identical with Locatives*

This section deals with words which carry a locative marker, never occur without that marker, have a locational or temporal meaning, and often occupy the locational or temporal slot in a clause. They may, however, also occur as adjuncts like adjectives.

lamaga *right*
hoga *left*
aveto' *below*
toto' *up*
vato' *separated*
aeto' *separated*
genaga *long ago*
ge'yavinaga *long ago*
henaga *afterwards*

hoga d- anita *my left hand*
left my-hand

aveto' gi- toga *on the lower path*
below path-AD

vato' de *a different man*
separated man

ge'yavinaga yale *the former people, the people of long ago*
long ago people

henaga yale *the future people*
afterwards people

2.1.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives occur as free words, and as affixes. The free word forms are:

ma	ma'i	*this* (with 1. person)
na	na'i	*that* (with person addressed)
	a'i	*that* (with 3. person, or somewhere else)

The shorter form usually occurs without a noun:

ma eli- o *take this!*
this take-IM SG

na ag- o *look at that!*
that look-IM SG

The longer form occurs attributive with a noun:

ma'i nina *this water*
this water

na'i gae *that loincloth*
that loincloth

a'i bade *that boy*
that boy

Interrogative markers occur usually with the short form:

má- vie *(is it) this?*
this-INT

ná- vie *(is it) that?*
that-INT

The equation marker may occur with the short form:

ma- e' *this is it*
this-EQ

na- e'	*that is it*
that-EQ	

The connective particle in its allomorphic form -mo may occur with both the short and the long forms of the demonstratives:

má- mo	and	má'i-mo	*this*
this-CON		*this*-CON	
ná- mo	and	ná'i-mo	*that*
that-CON		*that*-CON	
		á'i -mo	*that*
		that-CON	

Locative suffixes may occur with both the short and the long forms:

má- lo' ,	má- loga ,	má'i-lo' ,	má'i-loga	*here*
this-AD	*this*-AD	*this*-AD	*this*-AD	
ná- lo ,	ná- loga ,	ná'i-lo' ,	ná'i-loga	*there*
that-AD	*that*-AD	*that*-AD	*that*-AD	
		á'i -lo' ,	á'i -loga	*there*
		that-AD	*that*-AD	
má- loti',	má- logati',	má'i-loti',	má'i-logati'	*from here*
this-AB	*this*-AB	*this*-AB	*this*-AB	
ná- loti',	ná- logati',	ná'i-loti',	ná'ilogati'	*from there*
that-AB	*that*-AB	*that*-AB	*that*-AB	
		á'i- loti',	á'i-logati'	*from there*
		that-AB	*that*-AB	
má- vi' ,		má'i-vi'		*in here*
this-IN		*this*-IN		
ná- vi' ,		ná'i-vi'		*in there*
that-IN		*that*-IN		
		á'i -vi'		*in there*
		that-IN		
má- viti' ,		má'i-viti'		*out of here*
this-EL		*this*-EL		
ná- viti'		ná'i-viti'		*out of there*
that-EL		*that*-EL		
		á'i -viti'		*out of there*
		that-EL		

There are also forms like ma- gayaga, na- gayaga, ma- gayagati'
this-AD *that*-AD *this*-AB
etc.

Demonstration affixes are usually prefixed to nouns, the two prefixes occur with two allomorphs each:

ma-	preceding consonants	} *this*
m-	preceding vowels	
na-	preceding consonants	} *that*
n-	preceding vowels	

The allomorphs ma- and na- are always unstressed or even reduced syllables, the allomorphs m- and n- become part of the first syllable of the word they are prefixed to.

ma- yáva *this tree*
this-tree

m- ígopa *this ground*
this-ground

ma- gé *this word, as follows*
this-word

na- gayále *that pig*
that-pig

n- ége *that banana*
that-banana

na- gé *that word, as said*
that-word

Demonstrative prefixes may occur with the verb hu- to form adverbial phrases, cf. 2.2.2.3.

Demonstrative prefixes may also be directly connected to the clitic -bona *matter, thing,* which behaves like a class 1 noun, occurring in short and long form, and with noun suffixes.

ma- bona dote'na-e' *this is something to eat*
this-matter food- EQ

na- bona dote'na-e' *that is something to eat*
that-matter food- EQ

na -bo' *that*
that-matter

Note: nabo' usually functions as a conjunction, and may be exchanged with nalo'.

na- bo- ba' *that* subj
that-matter-PIV

na- bo- se' *therefore*
that-matter-BEN

Furthermore, demonstrative prefixes may also be directly connected to the complemental marker which then takes the place of the noun to which the prefix is attached, and consequently takes on further noun suffixes.
(cf. examples nanama' and manaloti' under 2.1.2.1-6)

2.1.5 Locationals

There are noun-like words which always occur with a locative suffix, and nouns which assume a special meaning when occurring with a locative suffix.

Examples:		
	einaga	*in the heart*
	vato'	*separated*
	vatoga	*at another place*
	hitagipi'	*underneath*
	lupenaga	*underneath*
	aveto'	*down*
	avetoga	*below*
	toto'	*up*
	totoga	*above*
	agovetulo'	*on top*
	agovetuvi'	*on top*
	gametulo'	*on top of*
	gametuvavalo'	*above, over*
	mega	*on the surface*

The adjectives vato', aveto', and toto' have been listed here again as examples for words which do not occur other than with locative marker. Nevertheless, those words are functionally adjectives. As becomes evident by the forms vatoga, avetoga, totoga, the locational morpheme -ga has to be suffixed in addition to the adessive suffix (or, the expanded form of the adessive suffix has to be substituted for the short form) in order to turn the adjective into a locational word which can occupy the locational slot in a clause.

toto' gina *the upper path*
up path

totoga yo' bogo hano- d- i- e *up above there is a house*
above house one exist-PAST-3.SG-IND

Demonstratives with locative suffixes are described under 2.1.4.

Mention should be made of the expanded form makaloga *here,* which infrequently occurs synonymously with the forms malo', ma'ilo', maloga, and ma'iloga.

Other locational words which infrequently take substantive affixes are:

bega *over there, up there*
biga *over there, up there*
buga *over there*

These words, which carry a locational morpheme already, have a locational meaning by themselves. Locative suffixing, however, occurs with these if a speaker wants to express that someone or something is located at or in a position "over there", and even ablative and elative suffixes may occur with these words.

buga- lo' *(at the place) over there*
over there-AD

buga- vi' *(in that) over there*
over there-IN

buga- viti' *out of over there*
over there-EL

buga- gayaga *(at the place, in the direction) over there*
over there-AD

Of other noun suffixes, the benefactive marker in its allomorphic form -se' (no explanation can be given for that form after an open syllable, cf. 2.1.2.4) occurs infrequently with any of these words.

buga- se' *with regard to over there*
over there- BEN

Another set of locational words is:

ema *there, down there*
ima *there*
uma *there*

These three words, although not carrying a locational morpheme of any kind, have a locational meaning in themselves. They may occur attributive with nouns, like demonstratives.

ema bade *that boy there*
there boy

All three may carry locative suffixes when occupying the locational slot of a clause.

ema- lo' bolo-d- u- e *I put it there*
there-AD *put*- PAST-1.SG-IND

ema- gayaga u- d- i- e *he went down there*
there-AD *go*-PAST-3.SG-IND

2.1.6 Interrogatives

(For the interrogative suffixes occurring in yes-no-questions, cf. 2.3.2.4).

The interrogative pronoun is nala' / nala'a *who?*

The longer form which could be explained as carrying the personal pronoun suffix of the 3. person singular, occurs much more frequently than the short form. Most suffixing occurs with the long form.

nala'a no'- e *who is coming?*
who PROG-*come* 3.SG IND

nala'a-ma' no'- e *who is coming?*
who- PIV PROG-*come* 3.SG IND

nala'a-ma' gayale *whose pig?*
who- PIV *pig*

nala'a gayale *whose pig?*
who *pig*

nala'a-e' ne- s- a- e *whom are they talking about?*
who- BEN PROG-*speak*-3.PL-IND

nala-se' ne- s- a- e *whom are they talking about?*
who- BEN PROG-*speak*-3.PL-IND

nala'a-'ese' *with whom?*
who- COM

nala'a-loga *at whom?*
who- AD

The interrogative adjective with animates and inanimates is heipa' / heipa'a *which, what.*

heipa' de *which man?*
heipa' yava *which tree?*
heipa' yopi' *in which house?*
heipa' ganavi' *at what time? when?*
heipa' vitane *at what time? when?*
heipa' gava' *in which way? how?*

Locational and benefactive markers are suffixed to the interrogative adjective for locational interrogations:

heipa'a-e' *where?*
which- BEN

heipa-to' *where*
*which-*AD

heipa-to-ne *where?*
*which-*AD*-?* (-ne is possibly a complemental marker)

heipa'a-lo' *where?*
which- AD

heipa'a-loga *where?*
which- AD

heipa-toti' *where from?*
*which-*AB

heipa'a-loti' *where from?*
which- AB

heipa'a-vi' *where in?*
which- IN

heipa'a-viti' *out of where?*
which- EL

An interrogation particle is da- / da'a- *what, which* which occurs prefixed to nouns expressing time or quality, or directly connected with the complemental marker -na.

da- kana-vi' *what time? when*
*which-time-*IN

da'- vitane *what time? when?*
which-at time

da'- ouva *what kind? how?*
which-likeness

da'- ouva gava' *what? how? wherefore? why?*
which-likeness kind

da'- ouva- na *what? which?*
which-likeness-COMP

da- kana-vi' u- g- un- e *when shall we go?*
which-time-IN *go*-FUT-1.PL-IND

da'- ouva ge hu- g- u- e *what shall I say?*
which-likeness word speak-FUT-1.SG.-IND

da'- ouva gava' hu-g- u- e *what shall I do?*
which-likeness kind do-FUT-1.SG-IND

da'a- na- e' no- s- i- e *what is he talking about?*
which-COMP-BEN PROG-*speak*-3.SG-IND

da'- ouva- na- e' ne- s- a- e *what are they talking*
which-likeness- COMP-BEN PROG-*speak*-3.PL-IND *about?*

Interrogation words in which the morpheme da'- / da'a- is inseparably linked with other morphemes which do not occur in isolation or other environments, are:

da'avune *how? what?*

da'avune hi-da ne- s- a- e *what are they saying?*
what *do*-3.PL PROG-*speak*-3.PL-IND

dabegi' *how much? how many?*
dabegine *how much? how many?*
daki' *how much? how many?*
dakine *how much? how many?*

dabegi' and daki' occur in attributive, dabegine and dakine in predicative position:

daki' yale ne'- a- e *how many people are coming?*
how many people PROG-*come* 3.PL-IND

yale dakine *how many people*
people how many

dabegi' yo' hano- d- i- e *how many houses are there?*
how many house exist-PAST-3.SG-IND

yava dabegine *how many trees?*
tree how many

dabegine *how much (is it)?*

2.1.7 Numerals

The number system works with two basic number words, *one* and *two*, which have both substantive character, and may occur with substantive suffixes.

bogo *one, some, a, another* (this word, besides meaning *one*, can stand for the indefinite article, or a not precisely defined number)

bogo may occur with pivotal, comitative, and locative markers:

ve bogo-ma' hu- d- i- e *one man said*
man one- PIV *speak*-PAST-3.SG-IND

bogo-ma' hu- d- i- e *one said*
one- PIV *speak*-PAST- 3.SG-IND

ve bogo-ma' bade *the son of another man*
man one- PIV *boy*

yege bogo-vi' *on another day*
sun one- IN

bogo-'e' *once more*
one- COM

bogo-kayaga *on one side*
one- AD

bogo may also occur with the restrictive marker in allomorphic form -ko' which cannot be explained (in the same way as the above -kayaga instead of the expected -gayaga). When occurring with the restrictive marker, it is the definite number word:

bogo-ko' *one, just one*
one- RE

Other suffixes may follow after the restrictive marker, e.g.

yo' bogo-ko-se' hu- d- u- e *I spoke just about one house*
house one- RE-BEN *speak* PAST-1.SG-IND

lole *two* very frequently occurs with the restrictive marker without any change of the meaning: loleko' *two*.

ve lole *two men*
man two

ve lole-ko' *two men*
man two- RE

Suffixes may occur with both forms:

yege lole-vi' *during two days*
sun two- IN

yava lole-ko-se' hi- d- a- e *the talked about two trees*
tree two- RE-BEN *speak*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Number words always follow the noun of which they express the quantity:

ve bogo *a man, another man*
man one

ve bogo-ko' *one man*
man one- RE

yale bogo *some people*
people one

yo' bogo-ko' hano- d- i- e *there is only one house*
house one- RE *exist*-PAST-1.SG-IND

yo' bogo-vi' bei- d- i- e *he lives in another house*
house one- IN *live*-PAST-3.SG-IND

The phrases d- anita bogo-ko' *my one hand*
my-hand one- RE
and d- anita bogo-kayaga'a *my hand on one side*
my hand one- AD
are used to express the number *five*. All other numbers are combinations of *one*, *two*, and *five*. Sums of five are expressed by sums of hands and feet. When counting, fingers and toes are used, starting at the little finger, and bending the fingers in as counting proceeds.

lole-'e' bogo-'e' *three*
two- COM *one-* COM

lole-'e' lole-'e' *four*
two- COM *two-* COM

d- anita bogo-kayaga su ho- na bogo-kayaga laka' no- s- e *six*
my-hand one- AD *finish*-3.SG *one-* AD PROG- IND
go across 3.SG-

d- anita bogo-kayagati' bogo-ko' *six*
my-hand one- AB *one-* RE

d- anita bogo-kayagati' lole *seven*
my-hand one- AB *two*

d- anita bogo-kayagati' lole-'e' bogo-'e' *eight*
my-hand one- AB *two-* COM *one-* COM

d- anita bogo-kayagati' lole-'e' lole-'e' *nine*
my-hand one- AB *two-* COM *two-* COM

d- anita lole *ten*
my-hand two

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' bogo-ko' *eleven*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot-*AB *one* RE

or d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' bogo *eleven*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot-*AB *one*

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' lole *twelve*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot-*AB *two*

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' lole-'e' bogo-'e' *thirteen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot-*AB *two-* COM *one-* COM

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya-logati' lole-'e' lole-'e' *fourteen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot-*AB *two-* COM *two-* COM

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayaga'a *fifteen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot one-* AD

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagati' bogo-ko' *sixteen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot one-* AB *one-* RE

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagati' lole *seventeen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot one-* AB *two*

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagati' lole-'e' bogo-'e' *eighteen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot one-* AB *two-* COM *one* COM

d- anita su ho- na d- eiya bogo-kayagati' lole-'e' lole-'e' *nineteen*
*my-hand finish-*3.SG *my-foot one-* AB *two-* COM *two-* COM

d- eiya d- anita su no- s- e *twenty*
my-foot my-hand PROG- IND
finish 3.SG-

d- eiya d- anita buki'a *twenty*
my-foot my-hand all

Forty may be expressed by saying

ve lole t- eiya t- anita su no- s- e
man two their dl-*foot their* dl-*hand* PROG- IND
finish 3.SG-

Nowadays, only old people still use the number system extensively. The system has generally been replaced by the English numbers (through Pidgin, but usually without the morpheme -pela), and in general it can be said that only numbers up to five may be expressed in the old way.

Note: When using English numbers, they usually follow the noun as in the old system:

bade faefu or bade faefu'a *five boys*

But if sometimes number words occur in their Pidgin form, they precede the noun as in Pidgin:

faepela bade *five boys*

Some adjectives serve to express quantities, and then usually occur in predicative form following the noun:

loguva	*few* or *three*
buki'	*all*
sole'	*many*
ana loguva'a	*three women*
yale buki'a	*all people*
yale sole'na	*many people*

The adjectives hogoto', hegoto' and henaga' serve to express ordinal number qualities *first* and *last*. They occur preceding the noun.

hogoto' bade	*the first boy*
henaga bade	*the last boy*

2.2 *MODIFIERS*

This section includes such words which are not verbs, and also do not occur with noun markers, and can therefore not be classified as substantives.

2.2.1 Exclamations

These may just occur in isolation, i.e. in exclamation sentences. Some of them may be compounded with an auxiliary verb. They could therefore be regarded as verb adjuncts, but because of their occurrence

in isolation, they are dealt with in this section.

2.2.1.1 *Assent and Dissent*

Assent or agreement is expressed by the exclamation word he *yes*.

also: he hu- *to say yes, to agree*

ø- hap- ei- ga-ni he hu- d- i- e *when he told him, he agreed*
him-tell-3.SG-NI-*he yes say*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Dissent or disagreement is expressed by the exclamation words e'e, o'e, and a'ao *no*.

e'e is the most frequently occurring one.

also: e'e hu- *to say no, to disagree, to decline*

2.2.1.2 *Other exclamations*

Quite a number of exclamation words have been recorded, most of which cannot be glossed, but only transcribed with a certain state of emotion. The following list is not supposed to be exhaustive.

Surprise:	áyo
	vae
	óho
Excitement:	ovúo
	ahiíe
Seeking contact:	akú
Relief:	uso
	daháge
Alert:	éhe
Satisfaction or joy:	lamago'
	lamagonae'
Urgency:	ahíi
also:	ahií ao- *to yell, to scream*
	namavao
	navao

The expressions namavao and navao usually occur after a verb suffixed with the pivotal marker:

agaea e- s- i- ma' navao *he should come!*
he *come*-IFUT-3.SG-PIV navao

Shout at pig festival to greet guests: atipú
(the last syllable has a high pitch)

Imitation of animal voices:

Barking: bou'
boubou'

Birds' cry: valií

2.2.2 *ADVERBS*

There is a group of adverbs which never occur like adjectives as attributive noun adjuncts, nor are they compounded for their adverbial use together with an auxiliary verb.
Examples are:

aomo aomo *carefully*

aomo aomo no'- u- e *I am walking carefully*
carefully PROG-*go* 1.SG-IND

aoto' *alone*

ve bogo yo- 'a- lo' aoto' bei- d- i- e *a man lives alone at his*
man one house-his-AD *alone live*-PAST-3.SG-IND *house*

(This adverb may occur with a person marker:

d-aoto' bei- d- u- e *I live by myself*)
I-alone live-PAST-1.SG-IND

gesi' *secretly*

dagaea gesi' hoya- viti' gile' eli- d- u- e
I secretly garden-EL *corn take*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I took corn secretly from the garden

hae *immediately*

ø- hap- ei- ga-ni hae havi-d- i- e
him-tell-3.SG-NI-*he immediately know*-PAST-3.SG-IND
he told him, and he understood immediately

vese vese *slowly*

vese vese u- o *walk slowly!*
slowly go- IM SG

valu' *unsheltered*

valu' hao- d- un- e *we slept in the open*
unsheltered sleep-PAST-1.PL-IND

yupa' *without eating*

yupa' hao- d- un- e *we slept with empty stomach*
without eating sleep-PAST-1.PL-IND

yoka' *temporarily*

yale pagaea ma- lo' yoka' bei- d- a- e *the people live*
people they this-AD *temporarily live*-PAST-3.PL-IND *here temporarily*

ago' *already*

bade-ka- ma' ago' gamao- d- i- e *your son has already*
boy- your-PIV *already recover*-PAST-3.SG-IND *recovered*

ago' fili-d- i- e *he had already died*
already die- PAST-3.SG-IND

2.2.2.1 *Temporal Adverbs*

The following words have a temporal meaning, and occur in the temporal slot of clauses without any further affixation:

gotifati	*early in the morning*
hemeti	*now, today*
vita'	*at a time, at a date*
vitane	*at a time, at a date*
vituta'	*at a time, at a date*
nevita'	*at that time*
a'i vita'	*at that time*
dete'	*in the morning*
ute'	*in the evening*
fega	*at daytime, during the day*
ega	*one day from now (yesterday/tomorrow)*
olega	*two days from now (on the day before yesterday, on the day after tomorrow)*
hani' fologu'	*at midnight*

2.2.2.2 *Adjective-derived Adverbs*

Morphologically, many adverbs are the same as adjectives. They occur in modified verb phrases, in most cases together with the auxiliary

verb hu- (cf. 2.2.2.3 and 3.1.2.12).

Only a few may occur without the auxiliary verb, and they may then occur with the suffix - a (which could be explained as a complemental marker).

havá'a *just so, without reason*
(from hava'/havana *unimportant*)

hava'a no'- o- e *I am coming without reason*
without reason PROG- *come* 1.SG-IND

2.2.2.3 *Adverbial phrases*

Many adverbial phrases consist of an adverb plus the auxiliary verb hu- (cf. 2.2.2.2). If glossing is attempted, that auxiliary verb could in these phrases be glossed as *do*. Adverbially used are also forms of the verb hu- with a prefixed demonstrative. The auxiliary verb in these phrases usually occurs in a medial form with identical subject. (cf. syntax, 3.1.2.12)
Examples:

belege hu-na o- d- i- e *he came quickly*
quickly do-3.SG *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND

legepa hu-ka hu- o *speak loudly!*
big do-2.SG *say*-IM

na- hu-na hu-lo- na yo- pi' hei- d- i- e
that-do-3.SG *do*-CPL-3.SG *house*-IN *go up*-PAST-3.SG-IND
after he had done that, he went into the house

ma- hu-na hu-na hoya eli- d- i- e *he did the work thus*
this-do-3.SG *do*-3.SG *work make*-PAST-3.SG-IND

yale- magi hulo halo hi-da gi' ae- d- a- e *the people walked*
people-PL *slowly do*-3.PL *path step*-PAST-3.PL-IND *the path slowly*

aeto' hu-ka bol-o *put it by itself!*
separated do 2.SG *put*-IM

The adverb visolo' *quickly* occurs with ei- as an auxiliary verb:

visolo' ei- ka e- no *come quickly!*
quickly hit-2.SG *come*-IM

2.2.3 Conjunctions

For the conjunctional use of the noun suffixes -'e', -'ese', and -gi, cf. 2.1.2.7, for the conjunctional use of -vi / -pi cf. 2.3.2.42, and for the conjunctional use of demonstrationals plus motivational marker, cf. 2.1.4.

The most frequently occurring conjunction, though, is the free form word **nagi** *and then* which is used to link a new sentence to a preceding one. (cf. 3.3.2.1)

The clitic **-ga / -ya** serves as a conjunction in comparison phrases with the adjective **gata'** *like*. (cf. 3.1.1.33) The allomorphs of this clitic are distributed as follows:

-ya occurs after front vowels,
-ga occurs after non-front vowels.

agae-'a- ga gata' *like himself*
he- himself-ga like

pagae' p- ougota-ga gata' *in their likeness*
their their-face- ga like

laisi-ya gata'-na- e' *it is like rice*
rice- ya like- COMP-EQ

2.3 *VERBS*

2.3.1 Definitions

There are four different verb classes or conjugations in Yagaria. The classes have been established on the basis of formal criteria, i.e. the contrast of verb stem vowels.

Verbs of all four classes contrast in structure and occurrence as independent and dependent forms. Independent verbs (2.3.2), termed "final" verb forms, occur in isolated clauses and in the final clause of sentences. Dependent verbs (2.3.3) occur in any but the last clause of sentences, and never in isolated clauses. The most frequently occurring dependent verbs, in fact the most frequently occurring verb forms at all, especially in narratives, are the "medial" verb forms (2.3.3.1).

There are intransitive and transitive verbs in all four classes.

There is only a limited number of what could be termed "simple" verbs. The majority of verbs are compounds such as are found in other Non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea Highlands. There are, however, different ways of compounding verbs. (cf. 2.3.1.4 and 2.3.5)

The inflection of the verbs, though complex, is quite regular, but there are four verbs (plus, of course, compounds of which they are a part) which show irregularity in their inflection. They are described under 2.3.6.

Because in Yagaria there is no "neutral" form which could be regarded as a kind of "infinitive", verbs are in this grammar and in the dictionary cited with their stems, i.e. the stem allomorph as it occurs in the 3. person singular in the past tense (morpheme segmentation is too difficult in the present tense, cf. 2.3.2.21).

2.3.1.1 *Classes*

Verbs of the four classes contrast with each other in the last vowel of their stem. (There are indications that Yagaria originally may have had only monosyllabic verb stems, and the polysyllabic stems are the result of intense verb compounding, cf. 2.3.5.4).

The contrasts of the verb stem vowels are:

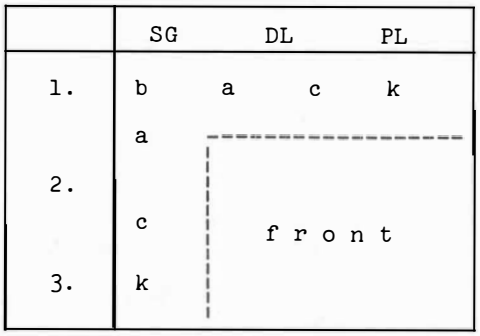
high versus low, and
single versus glide.

i u	ei ou
e o	ae ao

Following the above chart, allomorphic stem changes occur in the classes as follows:

class 1 : i - u
class 2 : e - o
class 3 : ei - ou
class 4 : ae - ao

Thus, every verb stem occurs with at least two allomorphs. The general rule of such "ablaut" (which does, however, not hold good for the present tense, cf. 2.3.2.21.1) is that back vowel allomorphs occur with all singular persons, and with the first person dual and plural, whereas front vowel allomorphs occur with the second and third person dual and plural. This distribution is shown in the following chart:



This rule of allomorphic changes of the verb stem is referred to in this grammar as the "general ablaut rule"[31].

Theoretically, every verb has two stem allomorphs, in practice, however, because of vowel assimilations, more than two allomorphs occur with every verb. Up to six allomorphs have been counted.

Class 1 and class 3 verbs have much in common, and so have class 2 and class 4 verbs. The PN markers of class 1 and class 3 are basically identical, and so are the markers of class 2 and class 4. Class 4 could even be treated as a sub-class of class 2, but for symmetrical reasons, and because the other glide stem verbs constitute a separate class, and because of easier identification of verbs with monosyllabic stems, class 4 is treated separately.

2.3.1.2 *Final and medial verbs*

Final or independent verb forms are inflected with regard to tense, subject and mood, and may be inflected with regard to aspect. They occupy the verb slot in isolated clauses and in sentence-final clauses, and do not occur in any non-sentence-final position. For final verb forms, cf. 2.3.2.

Medial verb forms depend in their occurrence on at least two clauses, and may occupy the verb slot of all but the last clause of a sentence. If the subject is identical in two subsequent clauses, the medial verb form of the preceding clause is inflected with regard to subject, and may be inflected with regard to aspect. If the subject changes, the medial verb form of the preceding clause is inflected with regard to preceding subject, tense or aspect, changing of the subject, and the following subject. For medial verb forms, cf. 2.3.3.1.

2.3.1.3 *Transitive and intransitive verbs*

Transitive and intransitive verbs contrast in occurrence, and may

contrast in form.

Intransitive verbs occur in the verb slot of intransitive clauses, transitive verbs occur in the verb slot of transitive clauses.

Transitive verbs (with some exceptions) may take object prefixes, i.e. short forms of personal pronouns as described in 2.1.1.22. Those transitive verbs which cannot be prefixed, may be followed by the verb to- *put* carrying the object prefix.

Transitive verbs may be derived from intransitive verbs by compounding with other verbs. (cf. 2.3.4.11)

Because of the additional morphological features of the transitive verbs, they are dealt with in a special section of this grammar, 2.3.4. For intransitive verbs, no extra morphological description is necessary.

2.3.1.4 *Simple and compound verbs*

Simple verbs consist of just one word, the verb stem with its affixes.

There are different kinds of compound verbs. The most common kind is that consisting of a verb adjunct preceding an auxiliary verb. The adjunct, sometimes occurring with a prefixed personal marker indicating object, or, less frequently, subject, but otherwise without any inflection markers, carries the meaning of the compound. Adjuncts of this kind may be nouns or adjectives, or may be limited in their occurrence to these verb structures. The auxiliary verb is a fully inflected verb form, usually following the adjunct, quite often deprived completely of its original meaning, and with no meaning left, but just acting as the carrier of the verbal functions of the compound[32].

Another kind of compound verb is the verb-verb compound, also termed a close-knit verb phrase (cf. 2.3.5.2 and 3.1.2.2), consisting of two or more verbs succeeding each other. Prefixation of a personal marker (subject or object) may occur with one or more of such verb stems, and all of the verbs constituting a compound, have to be inflected. In an isolated or sentence-final clause, the last verb assumes final form, all preceding verbs assume medial form for identical subject. Usually such compounds are formally indiscernible from clause sequences, but differ semantically and in their negative (cf. 3.1.2.2).

Direct compounding of stems (verb-verb compounds in which the first verb is unaffixed) are very rare, and occurs virtually only with the verbs bolo- *to put* (inanimates) and to- *to put* (animates) as the second verb of the compound (such compounds are stress units, and therefore have to be regarded as single words).

Complex compound verbs are combinations of the two kinds just described.

2.3.1.5 *Negation*

Any verb form may be negated. The negative marker is a'- prefixed to the verb stem. In case of an object marker prefixed to a negated verb, the negative prefix precedes the object marker. In case of the progressive aspect marker prefixed to the negated verb, the aspect marker precedes the negative marker.

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VB

Examples:

a'- ag- e *he does not see*
NEG-*see* 3.SG-IND

no'- a'- ag- e *he is not seeing*
PROG-NEG-*see* 3.SG-IND

no'- a'- l- ag- e *he is not seeing us*
PROG-NEG-*us*-*see* 3.SG-IND

The allomorphic form a- of the negative marker occurs, according to the morphophonemic rules, before k, p, t, f, and s, and also preceding b and d, which are phonetically preglottalised in this environment.

Occurring with the irregular verbs hu- / hi- and ho- / he-, the negative marker causes the change of h to s.

ge hu- d- u- e *I spoke*
word say-PAST-1.SG-IND

ge a- su- d- u- e *I did not speak*
word NEG-*say*-PAST-1.SG-IND

ho- d- i- e *he hit*
hit-PAST-3.SG-IND

a- so- d- i- e *he did not hit*
NEG-*hit*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Occurring with verb stems having more than one non-reduced syllable, the negative marker is infixed into the verb stem preceding the last stem syllable.

hevi- d- u- e *I fetched*
fetch-PAST-1.SG-IND

he-a'- vi-d- u- e *I did not fetch*
-NEG- PAST-1.SG-IND
fetch

A rare structure of negation occurs with the verb-stem like morpheme -ako- / -ake- which is suffixed to the verb stem to be negated, and may be glossed as *not doing*.

eli- ak- e *he does not take*
take-not doing-3.SG IND

ø- ami- ako- na *he did not give him, and...*
him-give-not doing-3.SG

2.3.2 Independent verbs

This section deals with all the verb forms termed "independent" or "final" in 2.3.1.2. They occur in isolated clauses, or in the last clause of a sentence. Though in a sentence their occurrence does not depend on any other preceding clauses, they cannot occur in any but the final clause.

All final verbs are inflected for subject, mood, and tense, and may be inflected for aspect in the present tense. Though in dual and plural number the subject markers contrast only as ego and non-ego, the paradigms in this grammar list the second and third persons dual and plural separately, since the language distinguishes clearly between those persons by the separate forms of the pronouns (cf. 2.1.1.1), and, depending on them, the medial verb distinguishes between those persons also (cf. 2.3.3.1).

The order of morphemes in final verbs is:

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + M

2.3.2.1 *Mood, tense, aspect: Definitions*

The final verb may occur in any of four moods: Indicative, Interrogative, Emphatic, and Imperative. Indicative, interrogative, and emphatic mood are denoted by suffixes which occur in the mood slot which is always the very last slot in a final verb form. Imperative mood has no mood marker, but is indicated by the imperative PN markers.

There are four tenses: Present, Past, Intentional Future, and Future. The tense markers occupy the tense marker slot, occurring in suffixation to the verb stem.

The two future tenses are unchallenged as tenses, but with regard to present and past, it would be also possible to term them as "aspects". The present, for instance, as "historic present", may relate actions which took place in the past, e.g. in a narrative, and then the present tense forms express a kind of incomplete aspect. The past, on the other hand, may, as "perfective aspect", describe completed actions taking place now, e.g. beidie *he has sat down*, i.e. *he is sitting or living now*, elidie *he has taken something*, i.e. *he is holding it now*. In such instances, however, the time and the aspect factors are closely linked, and the time references are always included in the verb. Morphologically, the fact is that the past tense marker occupies the same tense marker slot as the future tense markers, and the present tense morpheme is zero, whereas the aspect marker for the progressive aspect occupies a different slot.

The only true aspect marker with the final verb is the progressive aspect marker, occurring only with the present tense, and occupying the aspect slot, prefixed to the verb stem.

2.3.2.2 *Indicatives*

The order of morphemes in indicatives is:

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + IND

The indicative mood marker is -e. It occurs in the mood marker slot following the subject person-number marker.

2.3.2.21 Present tense

The present tense marker is zero, the person-number markers are suffixed directly to the verb stem. The person-number markers occur in slightly different forms with verbs of the various classes.

The present tense has two aspects: neutral, and progressive.

2.3.2.21.1 Present tense, neutral aspect

This aspect relates actions in the present, or, as "historic present", actions which took place in the past.

In the present tense, verb stem allomorphs occur which are different from the "regular" allomorphs occurring in other tenses. As the stem vowel and the vowel of the subject PN marker are assimilated, stem allomorphs occur which end in a consonant.

For instance, the verbs used for the paradigms in the following, are to be regarded as having all consonant-closed stem allomorphs in the

present tense if a segmentation of the verb stem morphemes and the PN morphemes of the present tense forms is attempted:

hav- < havu- / havi-	*to hear*
ful- / fil- < fulu- / fili-	*to die*
ol- / el- < olu- / eli-	*to take*
d- < do- / de-	*to eat*
boi- / bel- / bal- < bolo- / bele-	*to put*
b- < bou- / bei-	*to live*
h- < hao- / hae-	*to shoot*

The underlying stem allomorphs, listed at the right side of the < signs above, have a distribution which does not follow the general ablaut rule described in 2.3.1.1. For the present tense, a separate ablaut rule has to be stated, afterwards referred to as "present tense ablaut rule":

Back vowel allomorphs occur with first person forms, whereas front vowel allomorphs occur with non-first-person forms.

The present tense ablaut rule is depicted in this chart:

	SG	DL	PL
1.	b a	c k	
2.	f r o n t		
3.			

In the following, the person-number markers for the different classes are shown:

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	1.	-u-	-u'-	-un-
	2.	-in-	-i'-	-i-
	3.	-i-	-i'-	-i-
Class 2	1.	-o-	-o'-	-on-
	2.	-an-	-a'-	-a-
	3.	-ø-	-a'-	-a-

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 3	1.	-ou-	-ou'-	-oun-
	2.	-ein-	-ei'-	-ei-
	3.	-ei-	-ei'-	-ei-
Class 4	1.	-ao-	-ao'-	-aon-
	2.	-an-	-a'-	-a-
	3.	-a-	-a'-	-a-

The process of vowel assimilation which leads to the actual present tense verb forms, has to be assumed to take place as follows (one example for each class is given, and the indicative mood marker is suffixed to the PN markers):

Class 1	Singular	1.	havu- + ue > havuue > havue
		2.	havi- + ine > haviine > havine
		3.	havi- + ie > haviie > havie
	Dual	1.	havu- + u'e > havuu'e > havu'e
		2.	havi- + i'e > havii'e > havi'e
		3.	havi- + i'e > havii'e > havi'e
	Plural	1.	havu- + une > havuune > havune
		2.	havi- + ie > haviie > havie
		3.	havi- + ie > haviie > havie
Class 2	Singular	1.	do- + oe > dooe > doe
		2.	de- + ane > deane > dane
		3.	de- + ø e > dee > de
	Dual	1.	do- + o'e > doo'e > do'e
		2.	de- + a'e > dea'e > da'e
		3.	de- + a'e > dea'e > da'e
	Plural	1.	do- + one > doone > done
		2.	de- + ae > deae > dae
		3.	de- + ae > deae > dae
Class 3	Singular	1.	bou- + ue > bouue > boue
		2.	bei- + ine > beiine > beine
		3.	bei- + ie > beiie > beie
	Dual	1.	bou- + u'e > bouu'e > bou'e
		2.	bei- + i'e > beii'e > bei'e
		3.	bei- + i'e > beii'e > bei'e
	Plural	1.	bou- + une > bouune > boune
		2.	bei- + ie > beiie > beie
		3.	bei- + ie > beiie > beie

Class 4

Singular	1.	hao- + oe > haooe > haoe
	2.	hae- + ane > haeane > haane > hane
	3.	hae- + øe > haee > hae
Dual	1.	hao- + o'e > haoo'e > hao'e
	2.	hae- + a'e > haea'e > haa'e > ha'e
	3.	hae- + a'e > haea'e > haa'e > ha'e
Plural	1.	hao- + one > haoone > haone
	2.	hae- + ae > haeae > haae > hae
	3.	hae- + ae > haeae > haae > hae

In the process of vowel assimilation, verb stem and PN marker, and in some forms even the mood marker, have become so inseparably connected that the identification of morphemes, if not altogether impossible, is at least very difficult.

The following paradigms may serve for a systematic review of the present tense forms in the four classes:

Class 1

havi- *to hear, to listen, to know, to perceive* (the first stem syllable is reduced, the central vowel remains the same in all forms)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	havue	havu'e	havune
2.	havine	havi'e	havie
3.	havie	havi'e	havie

fili- *to die* (the first syllable is reduced, and vowel harmony occurs between the two stem syllables)

1.	fulue	fulu'e	fulune
2.	filine	fili'e	filie
3.	filie	fili'e	filie

eli- *to take* (the first syllable is reduced, and the allomorphic change from back to front vowel occurs independently, but parallel, for the high and mid vowels)

1.	olue	olu'e	olune
2.	eline	eli'e	elie
3.	elie	eli'e	elie

Class 2

do- *to eat*

1.	doe	do'e	done
2.	dane	da'e	dae
3.	de	da'e	dae

bolo- *to put* (the first syllable is reduced, and vowel harmony occurs between the two stem syllables)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	boloe	bolo'e	bolone
2.	balane	bala'e	balae
3.	bele	bala'e	balae

Class 3 bei- *to live*

1.	boue	bou'e	boune
2.	beine	bei'e	beie
3.	beie	bei'e	beie

Class 4 hao- *to shoot*

1.	haoe	hao'e	haone
2.	hane	ha'e	hae
3.	hae	ha'e	hae

2.3.2.21.2 Present tense, progressive aspect

This aspect describes actions which are now going on, or which habitually or customarily take place. Because of the two usages, present progressive verb forms carry a certain amount of ambiguity:

ba		no-	d-	on-	e	can mean:	*we are eating sweet potatoes now*
sweet potatoe	PROG-*eat*-1.PL-IND						
						or:	*we usually eat sweet potatoes*

Present progressive differs morphologically from the neutral present in the progressive aspect morpheme no'- / ne'- prefixed to the verb stem. The allomorphic change of this morpheme follows the general ablaut rule described in 2.3.1.1. That suggests that the aspect marker may have been originally a verb stem of a class 2 verb (it may have been derived from the verb hano- *to be, to exist*).

Distribution of progressive aspect marker allomorphs:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	no'-	no'-	no'-
2.	no'-	ne'-	ne'-
3.	no'-	ne'-	ne'-

The progressive aspect marker has yet another set of allomorphs with open syllables. According to the morphophonemic rules, those allomorphs occur preceding verb stems with initial p, t, (' + g >) k f, and s, and also occur preceding b- and d- initial verb stems, since

b and d become phonetically preglottalized in this environment.

Occurring with polysyllabic verb stems which have more than one non-reduced syllable, the progressive aspect marker is infixed into the verb stem, and precedes the last syllable of the stem. (cf. the verbs hévi-, háto-, hávei-, and hábao- in the paradigms)

Present progressive paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	haví- *to know, to listen, to hear, to perceive*		
1.	no'havue	no'havu'e	no'havune
2.	no'havine	ne'havi'e	ne'havie
3.	no'havie	ne'havi'e	ne'havie
	hévi- *to fetch, to scoop up*		
1.	heno'vue	heno'vu'e	heno'vune
2.	heno'vine	hene'vi'e	hene'vie
3.	heno'vie	hene'vi'e	hene'vie
	filí- *to die*		
1.	nofulue	nofulu'e	nofulune
2.	nofiline	nefili'e	nefilie
3.	nofilie	nefili'e	nefilie
	elí- *to take*		
1.	no'olue	no'olu'e	no'olune
2.	no'eline	ne'eli'e	ne'elie
3.	no'elie	ne'eli'e	ne'elie
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	nodoe	nodo'e	nodone
2.	nodane	neda'e	nedae
3.	node	neda'e	nedae
	háto- *to stroke*		
1.	ha'notoe	ha'noto'e	ha'notone
2.	ha'notane	ha'neta'e	ha'netae
3.	ha'note	ha'neta'e	ha'netae
	bolo- *to put*		
1.	noboloe	nobolo'e	nobolone
2.	nobalane	nebala'e	nebalae
3.	nobele	nebala'e	nebalae

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit*		
1.	noboue	nobou'e	noboune
2.	nobeine	nebei'e	nebeie
3.	nobeie	nebei'e	nebeie
	hávei- *to chase*		
1.	hano'voue	hano'vou'e	hano'voune
2.	hano'veine	hane'vei'e	hane'veie
3.	hano'veie	hane'vei'e	hane'veie
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	no'haoe	no'hao'e	no'haone
2.	no'hane	ne'ha'e	ne'hae
3.	no'hae	ne'ha'e	ne'hae
	hábao- *to help*		
1.	ha'nobaoe	ha'nobao'e	ha'nobaone
2.	ha'nobane	ha'neba'e	ha'nebae
3.	ha'nobae	ha'neba'e	ha'nebae

The glottal stop following the first syllable of the verbs hato- and habao-, occurs in the progressive aspect forms as in them the verb stem syllables are separated, and therefore the glottal stop cannot be assimilated by a following stop as in other forms.

Regarding the change of verb stem initial h into s following the progressive aspect marker, cf. 2.3.6 irregular verbs.

2.3.2.22 Past tense

The past tense describes actions in the past, i.e. all past actions, be they completive, perfective, or habitual. It may, however, in the way of a perfective aspect, describe an action which has taken place just now, and the results of which are yet at hand:
beidie *he has sat down,* and that means: *he sits* or *he is sitting*
elidie *he has taken,* and that means: *he is holding it*

The verb stem allomorphs occurring in the past tense, are:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs in all persons and numbers (except for the irregular verbs hu- and u-, for them, cf. 2.3.6).

The distribution of the class 2 and class 4 verb stem allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1: Back vowel allomorphs for

all singular and all ego, front vowel allomorphs for all non-singular non-ego persons.

The past tense marker is -d-, it follows the verb stem.

Person-number markers indicating subject, are the same in all four classes. Those markers are partly class 1 markers (all first persons, and 3. person singular), and partly class 2 markers (2. person singular, 2. and 3. persons dual and plural). The same distribution of person-number markers is found in the two future tenses.

Chart of person-number markers:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	-u-	-u'-	-un-
2.	-an-	-a'-	-a-
3.	-i-	-a'-	-a-

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	havidue	havidu'e	havidune
2.	havidane	havida'e	havidae
3.	havidie	havida'e	havidae
	fili- *to die*		
1.	filidue	filidu'e	filidune
2.	filidane	filida'e	filidae
3.	filidie	filida'e	filidae
	eli- *to take*		
1.	elidue	elidu'e	elidune
2.	elidane	elida'e	elidae
3.	elidie	elida'e	elidae
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	dodue	dodu'e	dodune
2.	dodane	deda'e	dedae
3.	dodie	deda'e	dedae
	bolo- *to put*		
1.	bolodue	bolodu'e	bolodune
2.	bolodane	beleda'e	beledae
3.	bolodie	beleda'e	beledae

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit*		
1.	beidue	beidu'e	beidune
2.	beidane	beida'e	beidae
3.	beidie	beida'e	beidae
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haodue	haodu'e	haodune
2.	haodane	haeda'e	haedae
3.	haodie	haeda'e	haedae

Mainly, though not exclusively, with the past tense, the direct chaining of other verb stems with the stem bolo- *to put* occurs[33] in order to express a completed action.

iyalamu' hu- bolo-d- i- e *he built a shelf completely*
shelf *make-put-* PAST-3.SG-IND

hao- bolo-d- u- e *I shot him dead*
shoot-put- PAST-1.SG-IND

2.3.2.23 Intentional future tense (Future I)

This future tense, while occurring as an indicative, may also express intention, command, exhortation to do something, and this action is viewed as a future one:

havisune *we shall listen,* or *let us listen*
desae *you* pl/*they will eat,* or *you* pl/*they shall eat*

Verb stems of all classes occur with this tense only as front allomorphs for all persons (i.e. no ablaut rule applies in this tense).

The tense marker is -s-, it follows the verb stem.

The person-number markers are the same as described with the past tense (cf. 2.3.2.22), and they are the same for all classes.

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to listen, to hear, to perceive*		
1.	havisue	havisu'e	havisune
2.	havisane	havisa'e	havisae
3.	havisie	havisa'e	havisae

	Singular	Dual	Plural
	fili- *to die*		
1.	filisue	filisu'e	filisune
2.	filisane	filisa'e	filisae
3.	filisie	filisa'e	filisae
	eli- *to take*		
1.	elisue	elisu'e	elisune
2.	elisane	elisa'e	elisae
3.	elisie	elisa'e	elisae
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	desue	desu'e	desune
2.	desane	desa'e	desae
3.	desie	desa'e	desae
	bolo- *to put*		
1.	belesue	belesu'e	belesune
2.	belesane	belesa'e	belesae
3.	belesie	belesa'e	belesae
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit*		
1.	beisue	beisu'e	beisune
2.	beisane	beisa'e	beisae
3.	beisie	beisa'e	beisae
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haesue	haesu'e	haesune
2.	haesane	haesa'e	haesae
3.	haesie	haesa'e	haesae

The suffixes -ge' and -me' /-ame'/ -pe' which occur with the intentional future tense to express anticipation, are described under 2.3.3.25.

2.3.2.24 Future tense (Future II)

This tense describes actions which will take place in the future:

dogune *we shall eat*
filigie *he will die*

Verb stem allomorphs occur in the same distribution as described for the past tense (2.3.2.22):

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs in all persons and numbers (except for the irregular verbs hu- and u-, for them, cf. 2.3.6).

The distribution of the class 2 and class 4 verb stem allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1: Back vowel allomorphs occur with all ego persons and with all singular persons, front vowel allomorphs with all non-ego non-singular persons.

The tense marker is -g-, it follows the verb stem.

The person-number markers are the same as described with the past tense (2.3.2.22), and they are the same for all classes.

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	havigue	havigu'e	havigune
2.	havigane	haviga'e	havigae
3.	havigie	haviga'e	havigae
	fili- *to die*		
1.	filigue	filigu'e	filigune
2.	filigane	filiga'e	filigae
3.	filigie	filiga'e	filigae
	eli- *to take*		
1.	eligue	eligu'e	eligune
2.	eligane	eliga'e	eligae
3.	eligie	eliga'e	eligae
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	dogue	dogu'e	dogune
2.	dogane	dega'e	degae
3.	dogie	dega'e	degae
	bolo- *to put*		
1.	bologue	bologu'e	bologune
2.	bologane	belega'e	belegae
3.	bologie	belega'e	belegae
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit*		
1.	beigue	beigu'e	beigune
2.	beigane	beiga'e	beigae
3.	beigie	beiga'e	beigae

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haogue	haogu'e	haogune
2.	haogane	haega'e	haegae
3.	haogie	haega'e	haegae

2.3.2.3 *Imperatives*

There are three kinds of imperative which can be classified as final verb forms:

The regular imperative, with the subject being the second person singular, dual, and plural.

The first and third person imperative.

The polite, or greeting, imperative.

(For the the medial imperative, cf. 2.3.3.13.2).

2.3.2.31 Regular imperative

The regular imperative expresses an order or command, to be carried out immediately.

do	*eat!*
haviio	*listen* pl!

The order of morphemes for the regular imperative is as follows:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + IMN

The distribution of stem allomorphs is as follows:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs only. (for the irregular verbs hu- and u-, cf. 2.3.6).

Class 2 and class 4 verb stems occur as back vowel allomorphs for singular, and front vowel allomorphs for dual and plural.

Subject of the regular imperative is only the second person, therefore the subject markers occurring with the regular imperative, contrast only with regard to number. The number markers are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
for classes 1 and 3:	-o	-'o	-io
for classes 2 and 4:	-o	-'o	-eo

With the imperative, the subject marker is suffixed directly to the verb stem which in classes 2 and 4 results in vowel contractions in singular and plural:

do- + -o > doo > do
de- + -eo > deeo > deo

hao- + -o > haoo > hao
hae- + -eo > haeeo > haeo

To keep in line, however, with the formula for final verbs (cf. 2.3.2), the Imperative may be considered a Present Tense with a zero tense morpheme. Further in this analysis, -o (which may be considered identical with the vocative marker, cf. 2.1.2.8, and also 2.3.2.5) would be the imperative mood marker. The PN markers then would be:

Singular: -ø-
Dual: -'-
Plural: -i- (Classes 1 and 3)
-e- (Classes 2 and 4)

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
	havio	havi'o	haviio
	eli- *to take*		
	elio	eli'o	eliio
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
	do	de'o	deo
	bolo- *to put*		
	bolo	bele'o	beleo
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit*		
	beio	bei'o	beiio
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
	hao	hae'o	haeo

The imperatives may occur with an intensifier morpheme -gapa:

havi- o- gapa *do listen* sg!
listen-IMN-IMIN

havi- 'o- gapa *do listen* dl!
listen-IMN-IMIN

havi- io- gapa *do listen* pl!
listen-IMN-IMIN

For the irregular singular form of the verb o- *to go*, cf. 2.3.6.4.

2.3.2.32 First and third person imperative

This imperative expresses an order, command, or exhortation, to be carried out immediately. Subject of this imperative may be any person except the second persons.

The verb stems of all classes occur with this imperative only as front vowel allomorphs.

The subject marker of this imperative is -no for all persons and numbers, and the order of morphemes is:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + -no[34]

Paradigms:

havino *I / he / we* dl pl */ they* dl pl *shall listen!*
deno *I / he / we* dl pl */ they* dl pl *shall eat!*
beino *I / he / we* dl pl */ they* dl pl *shall sit!*
haeno *I / he / we* dl pl */ they* dl pl *shall shoot!*

Because this form is ambiguous, it has always to be clarified by the context:

ba bogo d- ami- ga-da de- no *give me a sweet potato, and*
*sweet potato one me-give-*NI*-I eat-*no *I shall eat!*

yava' aeli-ga-ni age-no *show him the money, and he shall*
*money show-*NI*-he see-*no *see it!*

heti- ga-ta i- no *get up, let us go!*
*stand up-*NI*-we go-*no

nina hevi- ta leki-ga-ni ni- kona haveite- no
*water fetch-*2.PL *pour-*NI*-it water-tube get full-*no
scoop up pl *water and pour it into the tube that it gets full!*

2.3.2.33 Polite imperative

This imperative occurs only with the verb bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*, and with the verbs of motion u- *to go*, o- *to come*, hei- *to go up*, elemi- *to go down*, hei- o- *to come up*, emi- o- *to come down*.

Subject of the polite imperative is only the second person of singular, dual, and plural.

The polite imperative is used as greeting when people leave or arrive. The person waiting or staying uses the appropriate form of a

verb of motion, the person leaving uses the appropriate form of bei-.

The polite imperative verb forms correspond with the polite interrogative forms (cf. 2.3.2.43 and 3.3.2.2).

The verb stems with the polite imperative occur as front vowel allomorphs in all three numbers, except for the verb stems u- *to go* and o- *to come* which occur as back vowel allomorphs in the singular.

The polite imperative marker, or greeting morpheme, -tolo- / -tele- occurs as back vowel allomorph with the singular (except for o- *to come* and its compound hei- o- *to come up* and emi- o- *to come down* which carry the front vowel allomorph also in the singular), and as front vowel allomorph with dual and plural. This morpheme is quite obviously a verb stem, most probably tolo- *to throw away, to leave*.

Suffixed to the greeting morpheme is the subject number marker of the regular imperative, so that the order of morphemes for the polite imperative is:

VBS + GR + IMN

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
u- *to go*	utolo	itele'o	iteleo
o- *to come*	oteleno	etele'o	eteleo
	(re the irregular singular, cf. 2.3.6.4)		
hei- *to go up*	heitolo	heitele'o	heiteleo
elemi- *to go down*	elemitolo	elemitele'o	elemiteleo
hei- o- *to come up*	heika oteleno	heita'a etele'o	heita eteleo
emi- o- *to come down*	emika oteleno	emita'a etele'o	emita eteleo
	(with the last two compound verbs, regressive vowel assimilation occurs in speech, as described in 1.2).		
bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*	beitolo	beitele'o	beiteleo

2.3.2.4 *Interrogatives*

There are three kinds of interrogative:
The real or direct interrogative,
the conditional, or indirect, or assumptional interrogative,
the polite or greeting interrogative.

2.3.2.41 Real interrogative

The real interrogative is used for direct questions to which an answer 'yes' or 'no' can be expected. (The answer, however, usually consists of a clause or sentence).

Any indicative can be turned interrogative by the real interrogative morpheme being suffixed to the PN marker instead of the indicative mood marker. The order of morphemes in real interrogative verb forms is therefore:

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + INT

The real interrogative marker has three allomorphs: -vie, -avie, and -pie. Their distribution is as follows:

-vie occurs after open syllables (1. and 3. person singular, 2. and 3. person plural)

-avie occurs after syllables closed by glottal stop (all dual persons)

-pie occurs with PN markers closed by n (p < n + v) (2. person singular, 1. person plural)

Note: The morpheme-final -e could be explained as the indicative mood marker denoting the real interrogative, which contrasts with the conditional interrogative (2.3.2.42) which does not carry that marker.

Examples:

havi- d- i- vie	*did he hear?*
hear- PAST-3.SG-INT	
no- d- a- pie	*are you eating?*
PROG-*eat*-2.SG-INT	
hae- s- i- vie	*will he shoot?*
shoot-IFUT-3.SG-INT	
fili-g- a'- avie	*will they* dl *die?*
die- FUT-3.DL-INT	

The real interrogative morpheme may also occur with substantives, but only with the two allomorphs -vie and -pie (' + v > p)

m- igopa gagae' igopa-vie	*is this your land?*
this-land your land- INT	

yo- pi-pie *in the house?*
house-IN-INT

buga- vie *over there?*
over there-INT

ma'i-lo-pie *here?*
this-AD-INT

dagae-vie *I?*
I- INT

(Note that the suffixing occurs here with the open short form of the pronoun, cf. 2.1.1.1).

2.3.2.42 Conditional interrogative

The conditional interrogative, which may also be termed indirect or assumptional interrogative, occurs in rhetorical questions which expect a negative answer, further it occurs in expressions of uncertainty, and, when with substantives, sometimes in a conjunctive function (with or without the comitative marker suffixed to the following word).

The order of morphemes in conditional interrogative verb forms is the same as in real conditional verb forms:

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + INTC

The conditional interrogative marker has three allomorphs: -vi, -avi, and -pi. Their distribution corresponds to that of the real interrogative marker allomorphs -vie, -avie, and -pie.(2.3.2.41) With substantives, only the allomorphs -vi and -pi occur.

Examples:

gagaea ganevi lekapei-ka su ho- g- a- pi *will you (be able to)*
you star count- 2.SG *finish*-FUT-2.SG-INTC *count all the stars?*

e- s- a- vi *maybe they will come*
come-IFUT-3.PL-INTC

i- s- u- pi a'- u- g- un- e *shall we go or not?*
go-IFUT-1.PL-INTC NEG-*go*-FUT-1.PL-IND

yo- pi' bei-d- i- vi henaga'a bei-d- i- e *is he in the house*
house-IN *sit*-PAST-3.SG-INTC *outside* *sit*-PAST-3.SG-IND *or outside?*

ni- pi-pi *perhaps in the water?*
water-IN-INTC

ni- pi-pi asuapa-loga-'e' *in the water and on the bank*
water-IN-INTC *bank*- AD- COM

ae hogona'a-vi yatala' ae *low and high mountains*
mountain short- INTC *long* *mountain*

dagae-di- vi yale- di-'e' *I myself, and my people*
I- *myself*-INTC *people-my*-COM

In conditional interrogative verb forms, at times a combination of the past tense and the intentional future tense marker is found (that combination may occur also with future medial verb forms, cf. 2.3.3.12.4).

Note: This kind of combination could mean some kind of a perfective future tense, but because of too little evidence, such a tense has not been established.

na- lo' bei-di- s- i- vi *might he be there?*
that-AD *sit*-PAST-IFUT-3.SG-INTC

(this is an example for the aspect character which the tenses definitely have, cf. 2.3.2.1).

2.3.2.43 Polite interrogative

The polite or greeting interrogative corresponds with the polite imperative (2.3.2.33), it occurs only with the same verbs: bei-, u-, o-, hei-, elemi-, hei- o-, emi- o-, and it occurs only with second persons as subjects.

The polite interrogative is used as greeting when people leave or arrive. The person waiting or staying uses the appropriate form of a verb of motion, the person arriving or leaving uses the appropriate form of bei-.

The verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs in all three numbers except for the verb stems u- *to go* and o- *to come* which occur as back vowel allomorphs in the singular.

The greeting morpheme which occurs with the polite imperative either as back vowel or as front vowel allomorph, occurs with the polite interrogative in a third allomorphic form, as central vowel allomorph, -tala- (or rather -tal-), for all three numbers.

The order of morphemes in the polite interrogative verb is:

+ VBS + GR + INT

The real interrogative morpheme occurs in the same allomorphic distribution as described in 2.3.2.41.

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
u- *to go*	utalapie	itala'avie	italavie
o- *to come*	otalapie	etala'avie	etalavie
hei- *to go up*	heitalapie	heitala'avie	heitalavie
elemi- *to go down*	elemitalapie	elemitala'avie	elemitalavie
hei- o- *to come up*	heika otalapie	heita'a etala'avie	heita etalavie
emi- o- *to come down*	emika otalapie	emita'a etala'avie	emita etalavie

(with the last two compound verbs, regressive vowel assimilation occurs in speech, as described in 1.2)

bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*	beitalapie	beitala'avie	beitalavie

Examples of greeting exchanges, in which an interrogative is answered by an indicative, are as follows:

Arrival:

person arriving:	beitalapie	*are you here?*
person waiting:	beidue. otalapie	*I am here. Are you coming?*
person arriving:	no'oe	*I am coming*
person waiting:	oteleno	*then come!*

or:

person waiting:	heika otalapie	*are you coming up?*
person arriving:	heida no'oe	*I am coming up*
person waiting:	heika oteleno	*then come up!*

Departure:

person staying:	utalapie	*are you going?*
person leaving:	no'ue	*I am going*
person staying:	utolo	*then go!*
person leaving:	beitolo	*then stay!*

or:

persons staying:	elemitalavie	*are you* pl *going down?*
persons leaving:	no'olomune	*we are going down*
persons staying:	elemiteleo	*then go* pl *down!*
persons leaving:	beiteleo	*then stay* pl*!*

2.3.2.5 *Emphatic mood*

The emphatic mood occurs mainly in speeches and stories. It is a specially stressed indicative. The emphatic morpheme occurs with two allomorphs, -gi with singular and plural persons, -agi with dual persons. It occupies the mood slot in verbs, either by itself, or in combination with either the indicative morpheme or the pivotal marker.

The order of the morphemes in emphatic verbs therefore is:

$\pm$ ASP $\pm$ NEG $\pm$ OBJ + VBS + T + PN $\pm$ $\{^{\text{PIV}}_{\text{IND}}\}$ + EMPH

Examples:

elemi- s- u'- agi *we* dl *shall definitely go down*
go down-IFUT-1.DL-EMPH

yale- mo bei- d- u- gi *I am definitely human*
people-CON *live*-PAST-1.SG-EMPH

bei- s- a- pa- gi *you shall definitely stay*
live-IFUT-2.SG-PIV-EMPH

biga hano- d- i- gi *it is definitely over there*
over there exist-PAST-3.SG-EMPH

legi' bei- ka h- an- e- gi *you are definitely living here*
true live-2.SG *do*-2.SG-IND-EMPH

Emphatic verbs may be intensified further by an exclamatory clitic -o which cannot be glossed at all.

ge h- a- ma- gi- o *they are definitely speaking*
word say-3.PL-PIV-EMPH-EX

bei- da no- s- u- gi- o *I am definitely alive*
live-1.SG PROG-*do*-1.SG-EMPH-EX

Another emphatic marker is -vao, it is especially used in exclamation sentences:

ga- hao- bolo-d- u- vao *I have really killed you!*
you-shoot-put- PAST-1.SG-EMPH

For another emphatic verb form, cf. under 2.3.3.23.

2.3.3 Dependent verbs

This whole section deals with verb forms which depend on subsequent clauses. The most frequently occurring of those dependent verbs is the medial verb. Besides that, there is the nominalized verb with its derivations, anticipatory forms and verb combinations which all depend

on other clauses.

2.3.3.1 *Medial verb*

Medial verbs may occur in the verb slot of any but the last clause of a sentence.

The medial verbs contrast with regard to identity and non-identity of the subject in the anticipated clause. Verb forms anticipating identical subject, are inflected for subject, and may be inflected for aspect. Verb forms anticipating non-identical subject, indicate the non-identity of the subject with a special morpheme, and are inflected for preceding and anticipated subject, and may be inflected for tense or aspect.

2.3.3.11 Identical subject

These verb forms occupy the verb slot in a clause of which the subject is identical with the anticipated subject of the following clause. They occur in a neutral form which is inflected only with regard to subject, and two aspectual forms which are inflected for subject and for progressive or completed/perfective/extended aspect.

The distribution of verb stem allomorphs is as follows: Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs with the exception of the irregular verbs hu- and u- (for those, cf. 2.3.6). Class 2 and class 4 verb stems follow the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1: They have back vowel allomorphs for all singular and all ego persons, and front vowel allomorphs for all non-singular non-ego persons.

The subject is indicated by the pronoun-affix like PN markers which are described in the pronoun section of this grammar (cf. 2.1.1.21.2, first set).

The order of the morphemes for the subject-identical medial verb could be shown thus:

$$\overbrace{\pm \text{PROG} \pm \text{NEG} \pm \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} \pm \text{ASP} + \text{PN}}^{1}$$

2.3.3.11.1 Neutral

The neutral form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence-final verb, and takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to successive actions without denoting whether the action described is completed or still in progress as the anticipated action starts.

dote'na do- na ge hu- d- i- e *he ate and spoke*
food *eat*-3.SG *word say*-PAST-3.SG-IND

dote'na a- do- na ge hu- d- i- e *without eating, he spoke*
food NEG-*eat*-3.SG *word say*-PAST-3.SG-IND

age havi-ta u- g- un- e *we shall hear the news and go*
report hear-1.PL *go*-FUT-1.PL-IND

The order of morphemes for this verb is:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + PN

Polysyllabic verb stems with more than one non-reduced syllable infix the negation morpheme into the stem preceding the last syllable of the stem, cf. 2.3.1.5.

Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to hear, to know, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	havida	havita'a	havita
2.	havika	havita'a	havita
3.	havina	havida'a	havida
	fili- *to die*		
1.	filida	filita'a	filita
2.	filika	filita'a	filita
3.	filina	filida'a	filida
	eli- *to take*		
1.	elida	elita'a	elita
2.	elika	elita'a	elita
3.	elina	elida'a	elida
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	doda	dota'a	dota
2.	doka	deta'a	deta
3.	dona	deda'a	deda
	bolo- *to put*		
1.	boloda	bolota'a	bolota
2.	boloka	beleta'a	beleta
3.	bolona	beleda'a	beleda

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
1.	beida	beita'a	beita
2.	beika	beita'a	beita
3.	beina	beida'a	beida
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haoda	haota'a	haota
2.	haoka	haeta'a	haeta
3.	haona	haeda'a	haeda

2.3.3.11.2 Progressive

The progressive form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence final verb, and it takes its tense from that final verb. It relates to simultaneous actions denoting that the action described is still in progress while the anticipated action starts, or goes on. The progressive aspect is indicated by the present progressive marker prefixed to the verb stem in the allomorphic distribution as described in 2.3.2.21.2.

dote'na no- do- na ge hu- d- i- e *while he was eating, he spoke*
food PROG-*eat*-3.SG *word say*-PAST-3.SG-IND

ge no'- a'- havi-na dote'na do- d- i- e *while not listening to the talk, he ate*
word PROG-NEG-*hear*-3.SG *food* *eat*-PAST-3.SG-IND

ge no'- havi-ta dote'na do- g- un- e *while listening to the talk, we shall eat*
word PROG-*hear*-1.PL *food* *eat*-FUT-1.PL-IND

The order of morphemes for the progressive form is:

+ PROG ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + PN

With polysyllabic verb stems which have more than one non-reduced syllable, the progressive marker is infixed to the stem, preceding the last syllable of the stem.
Paradigms:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	no'havida	no'havita'a	no'havita
2.	no'havika	ne'havita'a	ne'havita
3.	no'havina	ne'havida'a	ne'havida

	Singular	Dual	Plural
	fili- *to die*		
1.	nofilida	nofilita'a	nofilita
2.	nofilika	nefilita'a	nefilita
3.	nofilina	nefilida'a	nefilida
	eli- *to take*		
1.	no'elida	no'elita'a	no'elita
2.	no'elika	ne'elita'a	ne'elita
3.	no'elina	ne'elida'a	ne'elida
	hévi- *to fetch*		
1.	heno'vida	heno'vita'a	heno'vita
2.	heno'vika	hene'vita'a	hene'vita
3.	heno'vina	hene'vida'a	hene'vida
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	nododa	nodota'a	nodota
2.	nodǫka	nedeta'a	nedeta
3.	nodona	nededa'a	nededa
	bolo- *to put*		
1.	noboloda	nobolota'a	nobolota
2.	noboloka	nebeleta'a	nebeleta
3.	nobolona	nebeleda'a	nebeleda
	háto- *to stroke*		
1.	ha'notoda	ha'nototа'a	ha'nototа
2.	ha'notoka	ha'neteta'a	ha'neteta
3.	ha'notona	ha'neteda'a	ha'neteda
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
1.	nobeida	nobeita'a	nobeita
2.	nobeika	nebeita'a	nebeita
3.	nobeina	nebeida'a	nebeida
	hávei- *to chase*		
1.	hano'veida	hano'veita'a	hano'veita
2.	hano'veika	hane'veita'a	hane'veita
3.	hano'veina	hane'veida'a	hane'veida
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	no'haoda	no'haota'a	no'haota
2.	no'haoka	ne'haeta'a	ne'haeta
3.	no'haona	ne'haeda'a	ne'haeda

	Singular	Dual	Plural
	habáo- *to help*		
1.	ha'nobaoda	ha'nobaota'a	ha'nobaota
2.	ha'nobaoka	ha'nebaeta'a	ha'nebaeta
3.	ha'nobaona	ha'nebaeda'a	ha'nebaeda

2.3.3.11.3 Completed/Perfective/Extended

The aspect slot following the verb stem, may be occupied by morphemes denoting completed, perfective, or extended action. All those medial verb forms may occur with any tense of the sentence final verb, and take their tense from that final verb form.

The order of the morphemes for these verb forms is:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + ASP + PN

The completed aspect is indicated by the morpheme -lo- / -le-. The distribution of its allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1. That indicates that the morpheme is actually the stem of a class 2 verb. It is quite obviously a short form of the verb bolo- *to put* which also in its full form may be chained directly on to another verb stem in order to express completion (cf. 2.3.2.22).

The completed aspect medial verb relates to successive actions denoting that the action described is completed before the anticipated action starts.

dote'na do- lo- na ge hu- d- i- e *after he had eaten, he spoke*
food eat-CPL-3.SG *word say*-PAST-3.SG-IND

gayale hao- lo- ta vakei- g- un- e *after shooting the pig, we*
pig shoot-CPL-1.PL *butcher*-FUT-1.PL-IND *shall butcher it*

Paradigm: havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	haviloda	havilota'a	havilota
2.	haviloka	havileta'a	havileta
3.	havilona	havileda'a	havileda

The perfective aspect is indicated by the past tense marker in its allomorphic forms -du- and -di-. The distribution of the allomorphs follows the general ablaut rule (cf. 2.3.1.1). The action described, is definite, but does not necessarily have to be completed as the anticipated action starts. (cf. also 2.3.3.12.4 and 2.3.2.42)

pagaea d- age-di- da dagae-se' bubele- d- a- e
they me-see-PAST-3.PL *I-* BEN *be glad*-PAST-3.PL-IND
when they saw me (i.e. *they saw me, and were still seeing me*), *they were glad about me*

a'i bade-ma' fologa-pi- vi' va'yu hu-na bei-du- na
that boy- PIV *middle-their*-IN *arrive-* 3.SG *sit*-PAST-3.SG
age- 'a f- apei-d- i- e
story-his them-tell-PAST-3.SG-IND
that boy arrived in their midst, and as he was there, told them his story

Paradigm: bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	beiduda	beiduta'a	beiduta
2.	beiduka	beidita'a	beidita
3.	beiduna	beidida'a	beidida

A locationally or temporarily extended action is denoted by the morpheme -li- occurring in the aspect slot:

ougegesa yava yao- vinagati' govi- li-da yo- toga
big tree forest-EL *carry*-li-1.SG *village*-AD
u- d- u- e
go-PAST-1.SG-IND
I carried a big tree (all the way) from the bush to the village

gea' ao-li-na h- i- ga-pi havi-d- a- e
call- li-3.SG *say*-3.SG-NI-*they hear*-PAST-3.PL-IND
he kept calling, and then they heard him

2.3.3.12 Non-identical subject

These verb forms occupy the verb slot in a clause of which the subject is not identical with the subject of the following clause. They carry a special morpheme indicating non-identity, are inflected for subject and anticipated subject, and may be inflected for aspect or tense. The five forms of the non-identical subject medial verb are therefore: neutral, progressive, completed, future, and imperative.

The non-identity morpheme has two allomorphs, -ga- for the 1. and 3. person singular and the 2. and 3. person plural, and -aga- for the 2. person singular, the 1. person plural, and all dual persons.

The anticipated subject is indicated by the pronoun-affix like PN markers which are described in the pronoun section of this grammar (cf. 2.1.1.21.2, second set).

Verb stems occur in the same allomorphic distribution as they are found in the present, past, and intentional future tense of the final verb, as well as in the imperative.

The order of morphemes for these verb forms is shown in this formula:

$$\pm \text{ PROG } \pm \text{ NEG } \pm \text{ OBJ + VBS + T + } PN_1 \text{ + NI + } PN_2$$

(NI is the non-identity marker, PN_1 the usual PN subject indicator of the verb, and PN_2 the pronoun-affix like PN marker for the anticipated subject.)

2.3.3.12.1 Neutral

The neutral form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence-final verb, and it takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to successive actions without denoting whether the action described is completed or still in progress as the anticipated action starts.

ba d- am- i- ga-da do- d- u- e *he gave me a sweet*
sweet potato me-give-3.SG-NI-*I eat*-PAST-1.SG-IND *potato, and I ate*

dote'na d- on- aga-pi l- age-g- a- e *we shall eat the food, and*
food eat-1.PL-NI- *they us-see*-FUT-3.PL-IND *they will see us*

The basis for this verb form is the neutral aspect of the present tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of morphemes is:

$$\pm \text{ NEG } \pm \text{ OBJ + VBS + } PN_1 \text{ + NI + } PN_2$$

In the following paradigms, the PN_2 slot is always occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular, but that could be occupied by the marker of any other person. (For -ni, there is also the allomorph -na which may be freely exchanged with -ni, though -ni occurs with greater frequency.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	havugani	havu'agani	havunagani
2.	havinagani	havi'agani	havigani
3.	havigani	havi'agani	havigani

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	dogani	do'agani	donagani
2.	danagani	de'agani	dagani
3.	degani	de'agani	dagani
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
1.	bougani	bou'agani	bounagani
2.	beinagani	bei'agani	beigani
3.	beigani	bei'agani	beigani
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haogani	hao'agani	haonagani
2.	hanagani	ha'agani	hagani
3.	haegani	ha'agani	hagani

There is a short form with the 3. person singular which uses the morpheme -ma- to express non-identity, and always the morpheme -na for the anticipated subject of the 3. person singular.

a ba' ge hav- i- ma-na ve- ma' ge bogo hapei-d- i- e
woman-PIV *word hear*-3.SG-NI-*he* *man*-PIV *word one* *tell*- PAST-3.SG-IND
when the woman heard it, the man told her something else

In fast speech, there is a tendency to use in the PN_1 slot the 3. person singular form also for other subjects. That, however, is never done with the anticipated subject. For the anticipated subject, the correct PN marker is always used.

2.3.3.12.2 Progressive

The progressive form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence final verb, and it takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to simultaneous actions denoting that the action described is still in progress while the anticipated action starts, or goes on.

ba no- d- o- ga-ni ge da-hapei-d- i- e
sweet potato PROG-*eat*-1.SG-NI-*he* *word me-tell*- PAST-3.SG-IND
while I was eating the sweet potato, he told me something

ba no- d- e- ga-ta hapei-g- un- e
sweet potato PROG-*eat*-3.SG-NI-*we* *tell*- FUT-1.PL-IND
while he will be eating the sweet potato, we shall tell him

The basis for this verb form is the progressive aspect of the present tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of morphemes is:

$$+ \text{PROG} \pm \text{NEG} \pm \text{OBJ} + \text{VBS} + \text{PN}_1 + \text{NI} + \text{PN}_2$$

With polysyllabic verb stems which have more than one non-reduced syllable, the progressive marker is infixed to the stem preceding the last syllable.

In the following paradigms, the PN_2 slot is again occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	no'havugani	no'havu'agani	no'havunagani
2.	no'havinagani	ne'havi'agani	ne'havigani
3.	no'havigani	ne'havi'agani	ne'havigani
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	nodogani	nodo'agani	nodonagani
2.	nodanagani	neda'agani	nedagani
3.	nodegani	neda'agani	nedagani
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
1.	nobougani	nobou'agani	nobounagani
2.	nobeinagani	nebei'agani	nebeigani
3.	nobeigani	nebei'agani	nebeigani
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	no'haogani	no'hao'agani	no'haonagani
2.	no'hanagani	ne'ha'agani	ne'hagani
3.	no'haegani	ne'ha'agani	ne'hagani

Also with the progressive form, in fast speech there is a tendency to use the 3. person singular marker extensively in the PN_1 slot also for other subjects.

2.3.3.12.3 Completed (Past)

The completed form may occur in connection with any tense of the sentence final verb, but its main occurrence is with past and present tense. It takes its tense from that final verb form. It relates to successive actions denoting that the action described is completed before the anticipated action starts.

Note: Occurrence with the future tense is very infrequent. If the completed form occurs with the future, it may carry the intentional future tense marker -s- in addition to the past tense marker -d-, cf. 2.3.3.12.4.

ba do- d- i- ga-ta hapei-d- un- e
sweet potato eat-PAST-3.SG-NI-*we tell*- PAST-1.PL-IND
after he had eaten the sweet potato, we told him

ba d- ami- d- an- aga-da no- d- o- e
sweet potato me-give-PAST-2.SG-NI *I* PROG-*eat*-1.SG-IND

The basis for this verb form is the past tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of the morphemes is:

$\pm$ NEG $\pm$ OBJ + VBS + PAST + PN_1 + NI + PN_2

In the following paradigms, again, the PN_2 slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	havidugani	havidu'agani	havidunagani
2.	havidanagani	havida'agani	havidagani
3.	havidigani	havida'agani	havidagani
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	dodugani	dodu'agani	dodunagani
2.	dodanagani	deda'agani	dedagani
3.	dodigani	deda'agani	dedagani
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
1.	beidugani	beidu'agani	beidunagani
2.	beidanagani	beida'agani	beidagani
3.	beidigani	beida'agani	beidagani
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haodugani	haodu'agani	haodunagani
2.	haodanagani	haeda'agani	haedagani
3.	haodigani	haeda'agani	haedagani

Instead of the past tense marker plus the PN_1 marker, occasionally the completed aspect marker described in 2.3.3.11.3 is used in its allomorphic form -le- to express completed action:

avo- 'a- ma' fil-i- le- ga-ni bade heioto hu-d- i- e
father-his-PIV *die*-3.SG-CPL-NI-*he boy cry* PAST-3.SG-IND
after his father had died, the boy cried

2.3.3.12.4 Future

The future form occurs only in connection with final verb forms of either of the two future tenses. It relates to successive actions taking place in the future.

ba de- s- an- aga-ta u- g- un- e
sweet potato eat-IFUT-2.SG-NI- *we go*-FUT-1.PL-IND
after you will have eaten the sweet potato, we shall go

The basis for this verb form is the intentional future tense without the indicative marker, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of morphemes is:

$\pm$ NEG $\pm$ OBJ + VBS + IFUT + PN_1 + NI + PN_2

The perfective aspect (cf.2.3.3.11.3) is added to the action described by the past tense marker in its allomorphic form -di- being used in connection with the intentional future tense marker:

$\pm$ NEG $\pm$ OBJ + VBS + PAST + IFUT + PN_1 + NI + PN_2

dote'na do- di- s- u- ga-ta u- g- un- e
food eat-PAST-IFUT-1.SG-NI-*we go*-FUT-1.PL-IND
as I shall still be eating, we shall go

lapagae-'ese' bei-di- s- u- ga-ni gana'a su ho- g- i- e
you pl- COM *sit*-PAST-IFUT-1.SG-NI-*it time finish*-FUT-3.SG-IND
I am with you, and shall be staying with you until the time is finished

(cf. also 2.3.3.11.3 and 2.3.2.42)

If it is to be stressed that the action described will be going on yet as the anticipated action will start, the progressive marker will be used in connection with the future tense marker:

+ PROG ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + IFUT + PN_1 + NI + PN_2

ge- pi no'- havi-s- an- aga-da d-ou' hao-g- u- e
word-their PROG-*hear*-IFUT-2.SG-NI- *I* *I-sleep-* FUT-1.SG-IND
while you will be listening to their talk, I shall sleep

In the following paradigms, again, the PN_2 slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
1.	havisugani	havisu'agani	havisunagani
2.	havisanagani	havisa'agani	havisagani
3.	havisigani	havisa'agani	havisagani
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
1.	desugani	desu'agani	desunagani
2.	desanagani	desa'agani	desagani
3.	desigani	desa'agani	desagani
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
1.	beisugani	beisu'agani	beisunagani
2.	beisanagani	beisa'agani	beisagani
3.	beisigani	beisa'agani	beisagani
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
1.	haesugani	haesu'agani	haesunagani
2.	haesanagani	haesa'agani	haesagani
3.	haesigani	haesa'agani	haesagani

2.3.3.12.5 Imperative

The imperative verb form occurs usually in direct speech, in connection with final verb forms in the imperative or in either of the two future tenses. It relates to future actions which are usually successive, but may be denoted to be simultaneous, by prefixation of the progressive marker.

ni' hevi- ta yuapa-vi' leki-i- ga-da ni' fele-s- u- e
water *fetch*-2.PL *dish-* IN *pour*-PL-NI-*I* *water* *wash*-IFUT-1.SG-IND
fetch pl *water and pour it into the dish, and I shall wash!*

gu- 'a yava-lo' sei- ka bolo-ø- ga-ni hane- s- i- e
netbag-his tree-AD *hang*-2.SG *put*- SG-NI-*it* *exist*-IFUT-3.SG-IND
hang sg *his netbag up on the tree, and it shall be there!*

latagaea gala havei-'- aga-ni i- s- i- e *chase* dl *the dog, so it*
you dl *dog* *chase*-DL-NI- *he go*-IFUT-3.SG-IND *will go away!*

The basis for this verb, PN_1 being a second person, is the regular imperative (cf. 2.3.2.31) without its final morpheme -o, suffixed with the markers for non-identity and anticipated subject. The order of the morphemes is:

$$\pm \text{ PROG } \pm \text{ NEG } \pm \text{ OBJ + VBS + } PN_1 \text{ + NI + } PN_2$$

PN_1 is a ø morpheme except in all dual forms and the plural forms of class 1 and class 3 verbs.

In the following paradigms, again, the PN_2 slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
	havigani	havi'agani	haviigani
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
	dogani	de'agani	degani
Class 3	bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
	beigani	bei'agani	beiigani
Class 4	hao- *to shoot*		
	haogani	hae'agani	haegani

If it is to be stressed that the actions are simultaneous, the progressive marker is used on this verb:

gi- toga p- agavei-ta ne'- i- i- ga-pi igopa age-s- a- e
path-AD *them-lead*- 2.PL PROG-*go*-PL-NI-*they land* *see*-IFUT-3.PL-IND
while you pl *will be leading them on the path, they shall see the land!*

If PN_1 is a first or third person, the basis for the verb is the first and third person imperative, (cf. 2.3.2.32). The morpheme -no, however, occurs in an allomorphic form -na :

bei- da fili-na-ga-ni bade-di-ma' gagemi-di eli- na bei- g- i- e
live-1.SG *die*- IM-NI-*he boy*- *my*-PIV *goods*- *my take*-3.SG *live*-FUT-3.SG-IND
when, after living, I die, my son will inherit my possessions

agaea havu-'a tele- na-ga-da eli- s- u- e
he bow- his throw away-IM-NI-*I take*-IFUT-1.SG-IND
he shall throw away his bow, and I will take it!

nabose' dagaea ga- havei-na-ga-ka g- oune ho-g- an- e
therefore I you sg-*chase*-IM-NI-*you* sg *you* sg-*flee*- FUT-2.SG-IND
therefore shall I chase you, and you will run away!

pagaea game' yale- ti f- abae-na-ga-pi la-havei-da
they fight people-our them-help-IM-NI-*they us-chase*-3.PL
la-hae- g- a- e *they will help our enemies, and they will*
us-shoot-FUT-3.PL-IND *chase and kill us*

Also with this form, the progressive marker may occur to denote simultaneity:

agaea hogoto- na no'- i- na-ga-pi game' yale hae- s- a- e
he be first-3.SG PROG-*go*-IM-NI-*they fight people shoot*-IFUT-3.PL-IND
while he shall be going in front, let the enemies shoot him!

The order of the morphemes, therefore, is as follows:

$$\pm \text{ PROG } \pm \text{ NEG } \pm \text{ OBJ + VBS + IM + NI + } PN_2$$

In the paradigms, again, the PN_2 slot is occupied by the marker for the 3. person singular:

Class 1	havinagani
Class 2	denagani
Class 3	beinagani
Class 4	haenagani

2.3.3.13 Further affixing with medial verbs

Medial verb forms take additional affixes of two kinds: Markers affixed between the verb stem and the medial suffixes, and markers suffixed to the medial verb morphemes. The first kind includes the morphemes denoting repeated or prolonged action, of the second kind are the medial imperative forms, and anticipation expressed with -e'.

2.3.3.13.1 Repeated or prolonged action

Affixation occurs to the subject-identical medial verb forms. The habitual morpheme -go / -ge is suffixed once or repeatedly to the

verb stem. The distribution of the allomorphs of this marker follows the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1, so that it has to be assumed that the morpheme is actually a class 2 verb stem, maybe **ago-** *to see*. That morpheme may be followed by the completive marker **-to- / -te-** which is most probably the verb stem **to-** *to put*, being used in the same way as the short form of **bolo-** *to put* (2.3.3.11.3) to express completion. The allomorph distribution of this completive marker follows also the general ablaut rule.

The order of morphemes in this form therefore is:

+ VBS + HAB ± [HAB ..... HAB] ± CPL + PN

Examples:
(back vowel allomorphs:)

gavu ao-da eli- da folo' ei-d- u- e *I searched and found*
search 1.SG *take*-1.SG *appear*- PAST-1.SG-IND

gavu ao-go- da eli- da folo' ei-d- u- e *I searched for a while*
search- HAB-1.SG *take*-1.SG *appear*- PAST-1.SG-IND *and found*

gavu ao-go- to- da eli- da folo' ei-d- u- e
search- HAB-CPL-1.SG *take*-1.SG *appear*- PAST-1.SG-IND
I searched for a long time and found

gavu ao-go- go- to- da eli- da folo' ei-d- u- e
search- HAB-HAB-CPL-1.SG *take*-1.SG *appear*- PAST-1.SG-IND
I searched, and searched, and searched, and finally found

(front vowel allomorphs:)

gavu ae-da eli- da folo' ei-d- a- e *they searched and found*
search- 3.PL *take*-3.PL *appear*- PAST-3.PL-IND

gavu ae-ge- da eli- da folo' ei-d- a- e *they searched for a*
search HAB-3.PL *take*-3.PL *appear*- Past-3.PL-IND *while and found*

gavu ae-ge- te- da eli- da folo' ei-d- a- e *they searched for a*
search- HAB-CPL-3.PL *take*-3.PL *appear*- PAST-3.PL-IND *long time and found*

gavu ae-ge- ge- te- da eli- da folo' ei-d- a- e
search- HAB-HAB-CPL-3.PL *take*-3.PL *appear*- PAST-3.PL-IND
they searched, and searched, and searched, and finally found

2.3.3.13.2 Medial imperative

Medial imperatives occur only in medial clauses with the final verb of the sentence being either an imperative, or a future tense verb. It

consists of an imperative verb form with the medial morphemes affixed between the verb stem and the imperative morpheme. The latter occurs only in one form, and does not show any contrast with regard to number.

Medial imperatives occur with identity and non-identity of subjects.

The distribution of the verb stem allomorphs is the same as with the regular final imperative (cf. 2.3.2.31).

The order of the morphemes for the identical medial imperative is:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + PN + IM

Example:

na- loti' a'- eli- ka- o nagi vato- gati' eli- ka e- no
that-AB NEG-*take*-2.SG-IM *but other*-AB *take*-2.SG *come*-IM
do not take it from there, but bring it from somewhere else!

Note: A transition consonant [v] or [ɓ][35] may occur in between the PN marker and the imperative marker to indicate separation of syllables. So the above verb a'elikao may phonetically be [aʔɛ'ɪikaɓo].

The order of morphemes for the medial imperative with non-identity of subject is:

± NEG + VBS + NI + PN + IM

Examples:

eli- ga-ta'a-o elemi- s- u'- agi *take it, and let us* dl *go down!*
take-NI-1.DL-IM *go down*-IFUT-1.DL-EMPH

tele- ga-ta- o u- g- un- e *leave* pl *it, and we shall go!*
throw away-NI-1.PL-IM *go*-FUT-1.PL-IND

2.3.3.13.3 Anticipation with -e'

This kind of anticipating verb consists of a non-identical subject verb form with the morpheme -e' affixed after the PN marker of the anticipated subject. The morpheme -e' could be interpreted as being the equation marker described in 2.1.2.9. Occurring with the medial verb, it would possibly be glossed as *that being so*.

yale na- lo' bei- d- a- ga-da -e' p- age-s- u- e
people that-AD *live*-PAST-3.PL-NI-1.SG-EQ *them-see*-IFUT-1.SG-IND
the people being there, I shall see them

2.3.3.2 *Other dependent verb forms*

In this section, a number of various verb forms are dealt with, which have in common that they are non-final verbs, and can therefore never occupy a final verb slot, or at least cannot occupy that slot unless occurring in combination with another verb, as is the case with the continuatives and the combined action forms.

2.3.3.21 Goal nominalizing

This form which could also be termed "nominalized action", consists of the verb stem with the suffixed marker -te'na. Since it behaves completely like a noun, it has been classified as a special group in the noun class 2, and is dealt with under 2.1.2.12.

But this form has still at least one verbal aspect, which is to be dealt with in this section, and that is the distribution of stem allomorphs:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur only as front vowel allomorphs except for hu- and u- which follow the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1.

Class 2 and class 4 verb stems follow the general ablaut rule, that means, back-vowel stem allomorphs occur for all forms associated with ego and singular persons, and front-vowel stem allomorphs for all forms associated with non-ego non-singular persons.

In this verb form, the action is nominalized, e.g.:

hei- te'na — *the climbing*
go up-GN

havi-te'na — *the listening, the knowledge*
hear-GN

hao- te'na / hae- te'na — *the shooting*
shoot-GN *shoot*-GN

hao- te'na-di — *my shooting*
shoot-GN *my*

hae- te'na-pi — *their shooting*
shoot-GN- *their*

The nominalized action forms of some verbs, however, have achieved a certain degree of semantic independence from the verb they are derived from, e.g.:

filite'na *the dying* i.e. *death*
dote'na *the eating* i.e. *food*
beite'na *the living* i.e. *life*

That becomes obvious e.g. with the word dote'na, when meaning *food*, the front vowel never occurs:

dote'na-di *my food*
food- my

dote'na-pi *their food*
food- their

but:

pagaea gayale de- te'na-e' havi-da lole no- s- u- e
they pig eat-GN- BEN *hear*-1.SG *two* PROG-*do*-1.SG-IND
I am in doubt regarding them eating the pig

Inflection of the -te'na forms is carried out as of normal class 2 nouns:

fili-te'na-e' l- amota no'- ei- e *we are afraid of dying*
die- GN BEN *us-fear* PROG-*hit*-3.SG-IND

hei- te'na-pi- e' *with regard to their climbing*
go up-GN- *their*-BEN

That the form has not lost its verbal character altogether, may be seen by the fact that it might occasionally be found in the predicate slot of a clause:

pagaea hei- te'na-e' *with regard to them climbing* or
they go up-GN- BEN *as they might be climbing*

2.3.3.22 Quality derivation

This form consists of the verb stem with the suffixed marker -te'. It is dealt with under 2.1.3.3, since it occurs mainly as attributive adjunct of nouns. For occurrence as predicative adjunct it carries the complemental suffix -na, and is actually the nominalized action form as discussed in the previous section. Since it also occurs in verbal function in the predicate of dependent clauses (cf. 3.2.2.15), it is also dealt with here in the verb section.

The distribution of stem allomorphs is the same as with the nominalized action forms.

In certain instances the quality derivation form may be exchangeable with the verb form carrying the pivotal marker, e.g.

fili-te' yale *the dead people* or *the people who died*
die- QD *people*

fili-d- a- ma' yale *the people who died*
die- PAST-3.PL-PIV *people*

pagaea fili-te-bose' *because they died*
they *die-* QD-MOT

pagaea fili-d- a- ma- bose' *because they died*
they *die-* PAST-3.PL-PIV-MOT

Occasionally, the present progressive marker is found prefixed to the quality derivation form:

ne- si- te' *if you* dl pl / *they* dl pl *are saying* i.e.
PROG-*say*-QD *if you/they want to...*

ne- si- te-se' *in order to say*
PROG-*say*-QD-BEN

2.3.3.23 Actor nominalizing

The pivotal marker which occurs with nouns (cf. 2.1.2.3), very frequently also occurs with verbs, nominalizing them, and with them the whole clause in which they occur, so that then the clause may occupy a slot in a phrase.

The pivotal marker is usually affixed to a verb which is inflected for tense and subject (and may be inflected for aspect and object), and turns that verb into a kind of participle, which is, however, not only by its context, but also by its form, clearly determined with regard to tense and subject.

This actor-nominalized form is structured as follows:

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + PIV

It is very difficult to find an appropriate English gloss for the actor-nominalized verb form. Present tense, and especially progressive aspect forms, may be glossed by *-ing*, or *-er*, e.g.:

yo' no- k- i- ma' de *the man building the house* or:
house PROG-*build*-3.SG-PIV *man* *the man, the house-builder*

yo' no- k- u- ma' de *I, the man building the house* or:
house PROG-*build*-1.SG-PIV *man* *the man, I, the house-builder*

The most neutral gloss which could be given for this verb form, would be (P = Person)

P, *the* VBS + T + PN - *er*

In many instances, however, it is inevitable to translate a phrase which includes a nominalized-actor form, with a relative clause, e.g. the phrases above:

the man who is building a house
I who am building the house

It should, however, be always considered that such a relative clause can by no means truly reflect the Yagaria form and function of the actor-nominalized verb.

The pivotal marker occurs with verbs in three allomorphic forms:

-ma' after PN markers with open syllables (1.3.sg, 2.3.pl)
-ama' after PN markers with syllables closed by glottal stop (all dual persons)
-pa' after PN markers ending in -n (n + m > p) (2.sg, 1.pl)

It may suffice here to list one paradigm for each of the four classes in present progressive and past tense.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 1	havi- *to know, to hear, to listen, to perceive*		
	Present Progressive		
1.	no'havuma'	no'havu'ama'	no'havupa'
2.	no'havipa'	ne'havi'ama'	ne'havima'
3.	no'havima'	ne'havi'ama'	ne'havima'
	Past tense		
1.	haviduma'	havidu'ama'	havidupa'
2.	havidapa'	havida'ama'	havidama'
3.	havidima'	havida'ama'	havidama'
Class 2	do- *to eat*		
	Present progressive		
1.	nodoma'	nodo'ama'	nodopa'
2.	nodapa'	neda'ama'	nedama'
3.	nodema'	neda'ama'	nedama'
	Past tense		
1.	doduma'	dodu'ama'	dodupa'
2.	dodapa'	deda'ama'	dedama'
3.	dodima'	deda'ama'	dedama'

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Class 3		bei- *to live, to sit, to stay*		
		Present progressive		
	1.	nobouma'	nobou'ama'	noboupa'
	2.	nobeipa'	nebei'ama'	nebeima'
	3.	nobeima'	nebei'ama'	nebeima'
		Past tense		
	1.	beiduma'	beidu'ama'	beidupa'
	2.	beidapa'	beida'ama'	beidama'
	3.	beidima'	beida'ama'	beidama'
Class 4		hao- *to shoot*		
		Present progressive		
	1.	no'haoma'	no'hao'ama'	no'haopa'
	2.	no'hapa'	ne'ha'ama'	ne'hama'
	3.	no'haema'	ne'ha'ama'	ne'hama'
		Past tense		
	1.	haoduma'	haodu'ama'	haodupa'
	2.	haodapa'	haeda'ama'	haedama'
	3.	haodima'	haeda'ama'	haedama'

Examples for the occurrence of the actor-nominalized verb cf. under 3.1.1.33 and 3.2.2.15.

Another emphatic verb form (cf. 2.3.2.5) occurs which consists of the actor-nominalized verb with the equation marker suffixed to it:

age-s- u- pa- e' *we shall definitely see it*
see-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-EQ

no'- o- ma- e' *I am indeed coming*
PROG-*come* 1.SG-PIV-EQ

The actor-nominalized verb also serves as basis for the locational, motivational, and conditional verb forms which are dealt with in the following sections.

2.3.3.23.1 Locationals

Locational verb forms occur in locational and temporal slots of clauses. Their basic form is the actor-nominalized form on to which the locative markers in their allomorphic form with initial stop are suffixed:

Adessive: -to'
Inessive: -pi'
Ablative: -toti'
Elative: -piti'

Examples:

yale b- ei- ma- to' u- g- un- e *we shall go to where the people sit*-3.PL-PIV-AD *go*-FUT-1.PL-IND *people are*

yo- ti p- ou' ne'- h- a- ma- pi' hei- ta p- ag- eo
house-our their-sleep PROG-*lie*-3.PL-PIV-IN *go up*-2.PL *them-see*-IM PL
go pl *into our house where they are sleeping, and see them!*

dote'na do- d- u- pa- toti' no'- on- e *we are coming from food eat*-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AB PROG-*come* 1.PL-IND *where we ate food*

ni' elemi- d- i- ma- piti' hei- na no'- e
water go down-PAST-3.SG-PIV-EL *go up*-3.SG PROG-*come* 3.SG IND
he is coming up out of the water into which he fell

2.3.3.23.2 Motivational

The motivational marker -bose' *because* is suffixed to verbs after the pivotal marker. The motivational marker can be described as being the clitic -bona *matter* (cf. 2.1.2.11) with the benefactive marker. Besides with verbs, the motivational marker occurs only with demonstratives, cf. 2.1.4. Motivational verb forms occur in motivational clauses of sentences.

eigava a'- ei-d- u- pa- bose' dote'na a'- l- ami- d- a- e
NEG- PAST-1.PL-PIV-MOT *food* NEG-*us-give*-PAST-3.PL-IND
wake up-
because we did not wake up, they did not give us food

2.3.3.24 Conditionals

There are three conditionals which morphologically all depend on the pivotal marker occurring with the verb. The conditional markers are suffixed to the pivotal marker. The three conditionals have been termed real, potential, and irreal conditional. All three of them may occur with any tense.

2.3.3.24.1 Real conditional

The real conditional consists of the actor nominalized verb to which the real conditional marker **-to'** is suffixed. That marker may be the same morpheme as the adessive marker.

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + PIV + **-to'**

Real conditional verb forms describe actions which are real, i.e. took place, are taking place, or will take place. They occupy the verb slot in conditional or temporal clauses preceding a final clause which describes what happened, is happening, or will happen as result of the action described in the preceding clause. The tenses in the two clauses always correspond. The real conditional verb form can usually be glossed with *when* in the past and future tenses, with *as* in the present tense.

amusa havi-d- i- ma- to' o- d- i- e *when he heard the noise,*
noise hear-PAST-3.SG-PIV-RC *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND *he came*

amusa havi-ma- to' no'- e *as he hears the noise, he is*
noise hear-PIV-RC PROG-*come* 3.SG IND *coming*

amusa no'- hav- u- pa- to' no'- on- e *as we are hearing the*
noise PROG-*hear*-1.PL-PIV-RC PROG-*come* 1.PL-IND *noise, we are coming*

age havi-s- u- ma- to' o- g- u- e *when I hear the report,*
report hear-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-RC *come*-FUT-1.SG-IND *I shall come*

ge fapei- g- u- ma- to' i- g- a- e *when I tell them, they*
word them tell-FUT-1.SG-PIV-RC *go*-FUT-3.PL-IND *will go*

2.3.3.24.2 Potential conditional

The potential conditional consists of the actor nominalized verb to which the potential conditional marker **-bobo** is suffixed. That potential conditional marker can be described as the clitic **-bona** (cf. 2.1.2.11) with the connective marker.

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + PIV + **-bobo**

Infrequently, the marker **-mo** occurs instead, which may be identical with the connective marker, but there is no explanation why it, after the pivotal marker which ends in a glottal stop, occurs with an initial continuant, instead of the expected stop.

Potential conditional verb forms describe an action which could have taken place, or could take place now or in the future, but it is uncertain whether it did, does, or will. The potential conditional verb

forms occupy the verb slot in conditional clauses which precede a final clause describing what happened, is happening, or will happen in case the action described in the conditional clause did, does, or will take place. The potential conditional verb can usually be glossed with *in case...* or *if....*

The tenses in the two subsequent clauses correspond with each other in such a way, that past may be followed by past, present and future, present by present and future, and future by future.

amusa havi-d- i- ma- bobo o- d- i- e *in case he heard the noise*
noise hear-PAST-3.SG-PIV-PC *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND *noise, he came*

amusa havi-d- i- ma- mo o- d- i- e *in case he heard the noise*
noise hear-PAST-3.SG-PIV-PC *come*-PAST-3.SG-IND *noise, he came*

dote'na p- ami- d- a- ma- bobo ne- d- a- e
food them-give-PAST-3.PL-PIV-PC PROG-*eat*-3.PL-IND
in case they gave them food, they are eating

pasi eli- d- i- ma- bobo la-habao-g- i- e
letter take-PAST-3.SG-PIV-PC *us-help*- FUT-3.SG-IND
in case he received the letter, he will help us

p- age-s- u- ma- bobo fapei- g- u- e
them-see-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-PC *them tell*-FUT-1.SG-IND
in case I shall see them, I shall tell them

ge havi-g- a- pa- bobo da-hapei-s- an- e
word hear-FUT-2.SG-PIV-PC *me-tell*- IFUT-2.SG-IND
in case you hear, you shall tell me!

2.3.3.24.3 Irreal conditional

Verb forms of this kind are often termed "contrary-to-fact" in descriptions of other NAN New Guinea languages. Two interdependent forms occur, a medial and a final one, in the verb slots of two successive clauses which make up a counterfactual sentence.

The irreal conditional describes an action which did not, does not, or will not take place, with the subsequent clause describing what would have happened, or would happen as result if the action described in the preceding clause were real.

The medial contrary-to-fact marker -tone hipana is a complex of a suffix and a free word, the latter most probably a derivation from the verb stem hu-. The marker follows after the pivotal marker, and may

occur with any person or tense. The order of morphemes for the irreal conditional medial verb can be shown thus:

± ASP ± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + T + PN + PIV + -tone hipana

Examples:

havi-d- u- ma- tone hipana *if I would have known*
hear-PAST-1.SG-PIV-IRM

hav- u- ma- tone hipana *if I knew*
hear-1.SG-PIV-IRM

no'- hav- u- ma- tone hipana *if I were knowing*
PROG-*hear*-1.SG-PIV-IRM

havi-s- u- ma- tone hipana *if I should know*
hear-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-IRM

havi-g- u- ma- tone hipana *if I should know*
hear FUT-1.SG-PIV-IRM

The final contrary-to-fact markers are suffixed directly on to the verb stem. All verbs of all classes occur only as front vowel allomorphs in this verbal form.

There are two sets of final contrary-to-fact markers. The one set consists only of one marker: -sine[36] which is the same for all persons and numbers. The other set distinguishes dual and non-dual: -ne hine for singular and plural persons, -'ene hine for dual persons. Both sets are mutually exchangeable. The free word hine is most probably a derivation from the verb stem hu-.

The irreal conditional final verb form is therefore indeterminate with regard to tense and person, it may be determinate with regard to number. Personal pronouns preceding the verb, may specify it with regard to person and number.

dagaea de- sine *I would have eaten,* or *I would eat*
I *eat*-IRF

dagaea de- ne hine *I would have eaten,* or *I would eat*
I *eat*-IRF

tagaea bei-sine *they* dl *would have stayed,* or *they* dl *would stay*
they dl *sit*-IRF

tagaea bei-'ene hine *they* dl *would have stayed,* or *they* dl *would stay*
they dl *sit*-IRF

pagaea ge hi- sine *they would have spoken,* or *they would speak*
they word say-IRF

pagaea ge hi- ne hine *they would have spoken,* or *they would speak*
they word say-IRF

The sequence of two irreal conditional clauses is determinate with regard to tense by the medial clause. The medial clause also determines the subject of the clause if it is identical.

guma- to' va'yu hu-d- u- ma- tone hipana p- age-sine
village-AD *arrive-* PAST-1.SG-PIV-IRM *them-see*-IRF
if I would have arrived at the village, I would have seen them

If the subjects in the two successive clauses are non-identical, the subject in the final clause is often indicated by a pronoun:

guma- ti- loga e- s- a- ma- tone hipana lagaea dote'na p-
village-our-AD *come*-IFUT-3.PL-PIV-IRM *we food them-*
ami- sine
give-IRF
if they would come to our village, we would feed them

The final irreal conditional verb may occur independent of the conditional medial form, either in an isolated clause, or preceded by a "general" medial clause.

lagaea gayale de- sine *we should eat/should have eaten pork*
we pig eat-IRF

la-tele- s- a'- aga-ta soko igopa-lo' bei- sine
us-leave-IFUT-2.DL-NI- *we good land-* AD *live*-IRF
had you dl *let us, we should dwell in a good land*

2.3.3.25 Anticipation and purpose (cf. also 2.3.3.13.3)

There are two morphemes, -ge' and -me'/-ame'/-pe', which usually occur with the intentional future tense, to express anticipation, purpose, or aim. Anticipatory verb forms occur in the verb slot of purpose or aim clauses sentence medially.

The morpheme -ge' which may be glossed *to, in order to, in order that,* is suffixed to the intentional future indicative verb. The order of morphemes is:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + IFUT + PN + IND + -ge'

dote'na eli- na folo' ei-s- i- e- ge' hoya no'- el- i- e
food take-3.SG *appear-* IFUT-3.SG-IND-ANT *work* PROG-*make*-3.SG-IND
he is working in order to find food

ege a- de- s- u- e- ge' d- ageta eli-na da-to-d- i- e
banana NEG-*eat*-IFUT-1.SG-IND-ANT *me-* 3.SG *me-* PAST-3.SG-IND
command

he commanded me not to eat the bananas

Infrequently, -ge' may also be suffixed to imperative forms or present tense forms, the latter, however, without the indicative marker:

ougegesa hoya eli- o- ge' a- ka- hapei-d- i- e
big *work make*-IM-ANT NEG-*you-tell-* PAST-3.SG-IND
he did not tell you to do a big job

ma- ve- ka-ma' hogoto- na u- lo- na gi' d- ael- i- ge'
this-man-SG-PIV *be first*-3.SG *go*-CPL-3.SG *path me-show*-3.SG-ANT
h- i- ga-da havei- da no'- o- e
say-3.SG-NI-I *follow*-1.SG PROG-*come* 1.SG-IND
this man offered to go in front to show me the way, and I have followed him, and am coming

The morpheme -me' / -ame' / -pe' is suffixed after the PN marker of the intentional future tense, making the order of morphemes as follows:

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + IFUT + PN + ANT

The allomorphs of this marker show the following distribution:

-me' after open syllables (1.3. sg, 2.3. pl)
-ame' after syllables closed by glottal stop (all persons dl)
-pe' after syllables closed by n : n + m > p (2.sg, 1.pl)

This morpheme has exactly the same meaning and function as -ge', and can be glossed *to, in order to, in order that.*

yaga hae- s- u- pe' yao- vi' no'- u- n- e
animal shoot-IFUT-1.PL-ANT *forest*-IN PROG-*go*-1.PL-IND
we are going to the forest to shoot animals

ba gavi-s- a'- ame' hoya- vi' i- d- a'- e
sweet potato dig- IFUT-3.DL-ANT *garden*-IN *go*-PAST-3.DL-IND
they dl *went to the garden to dig out sweet potatoes*

yo- to' i- s- u- me' da-hapei-d- a- e
house-AD *go*-IFUT-1.SG-ANT *me-tell-* PAST-3.PL-IND
they told me to go home

2.3.3.26 Verb combinations

The verb forms described in the following sections, could be regarded as compound verbs (2.3.5), as their first parts have in common with verb adjuncts that they are not inflected except for allomorphic changes between front and back vowels.

However, the first parts of these combinations, though always closely linked with the "auxiliary" verbs, and always occurring in one and the same clause, are derived from verb roots, and are therefore dealt with in this section of the grammar.

The auxiliaries (hu-, u-, and, less frequently, o-) may assume any verb form (mood, aspect, tense), are fully inflected, and may occur as medial or final verbs.

Verb Combinations described in the following, are two continuatives, and combined actions.

2.3.3.26.1 Aspectual continuative

The aspectual continuative describes long-lasting actions. The aspectual continuative verb form consists of the verb stem with suffixed aspectual continuative marker followed by a fully inflected form of the verbs u- or o-.

± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + ACT + u- / o-

The aspectual continuative marker has two allomorphs, -mo and -me which in their distribution follow the general ablaut rule set out in 2.3.1.1: Back vowel allomorphs with all singular and all ego persons, front vowel allomorphs with all non-singular non-ego persons.

Verb stem allomorphs occur as follows:

Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs throughout, except for hu- and u- which follow the general ablaut rule.

Class 2 and class 4 verbs follow the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1.

The "auxiliaries" u- and o- are normally inflected (cf. 2.3.6: Irregular verbs), u- may occur in any tense, o- in any but future tenses.

bei- mo u- na fili-d- i- e *after he lived for a long time,*
live-ACT *go*-3.SG *die*- PAST-3.SG-IND *he died*

hoya eli- me i- d- a- e *they worked for a long time*
work make-ACT *go*-PAST-3.PL-IND

a'i dote'na do- mo u- ta bei- g- un- e *we shall be eating that*
that food *eat*-ACT *go*-1.PL *live*-FUT-1.PL-IND *food*

o- occurs usually with past and present tense, expressing that the action extended over a long period toward the present time:

a'i ge havi-mo o- da bei- d- u- e *I kept hearing that*
that word hear-ACT *come*-1.SG *live*-PAST-1.SG-IND *talk*

a'i ge havi-mo no'- o- e *I have been hearing that talk*
that word hear-ACT PROG-*come* 1.SG-IND

a'i ge havi-me ne- a- e *they have been hearing that*
that word hear-ACT PROG-*come* 3.PL-IND *talk*

2.3.3.26.2 Habitual continuative

The habitual continuative describes actions habitually or customarily performed. The habitual continuative verb form consists of the verb stem with suffixed habitual continuative marker followed by a repetition of itself, and a fully inflected form of the verb hu-.

+ [± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + HCT] + [± NEG ± OBJ + VBS + HCT] + hu-

The habitual continuative marker has the two allomorphs -go and -ge which are distributed according to the general ablaut rule of 2.3.1.1. (it is obviously the same morpheme as the "habitual" morpheme described in 2.3.3.13.1).

The verb stem allomorphs are distributed as follows: Class 1 and class 3 verb stems occur as front vowel allomorphs throughout, except for hu- and u- which follow the general ablaut rule. Class 2 and 4 verb stem allomorphs follow the general ablaut rule.

a'i ge hu- go hu- go no- s- u- e *I say that all the time*
that word say-HCT *say*-HCT PROG-*do*-1.SG-IND

a'i ge hi- ge hi- ge ne- s- a- e *they say that all the time*
that word say-HCT *say*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.PL-IND

bogoko' dote'na do- go do- go no- s- i- e *he eats one kind of*
one food eat-HCT *eat*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.SG-IND *food all the time*

a'i hoya eli- ge eli- ge ne- s- a- e *they do that work all the*
that work make-HCT *make*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.PL-IND *time*

agaea buki vita' o- go o- go no- s- i- e *he comes all the*
he all time come-HCT *come*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.SG-IND *time*

pagaea buki vita' e- ge e- ge ne- s- a- e *they come all the*
they all time come-HCT *come*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.PL-IND *time*

2.3.3.26.3 Simultaneous Actions

Verb forms of combined actions involve two corresponding verbs. The marker of Simultaneous action is the habitual continuative morpheme **-go / -ge**, and the verb form follows the structure of the habitual continuative. Verb stem allomorphs have the same distribution as described in 2.3.3.26.2, only that the verb **havi-** *to hear*, may be influenced by its occurrence together with **hu-** *to say*, follows the general ablaut rule.

ge hu- go havu-go no- s- u'- e *we* dl *are conversing*
word say-HCT *hear*-HCT PROG-*do*-1.DL-IND

ge hi- ge havi-ge ne- s- a- e *they are conversing*
word say-HCT *hear*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.PL-IND

gi- ba' ei- go gagi-go no- s- i- e *the path is winding*
path-PIV *hit*-HCT *bend*-HCT PROG-*do*-3.SG-IND

2.3.3.26.4 Successive Repeated Actions

Again two corresponding verbs are involved. The marker of this kind of action is the completion morpheme **-lo / -le** as described in 2.3.3.11.3 with its allomorph distribution following the general ablaut rule. The verb form in its structure follows the pattern of the habitual continuative (cf. 2.3.3.26.2):

$$+ [+ VBS_1 + CPL] + [+ VBS_2 + CPL] + hu-$$

Verb stem allomorphs occur in their distribution as described in 2.3.3.26.2.

hao- lo heti- lo hu-d- i- e *he slept and got up (many times)*
sleep-CPL *get up*-CPL *do*-PAST-3.SG-IND

hao- lo heti- lo hu-na u- d- i- e
sleep-CPL *get up*-CPL *do*-3.SG *go*-PAST-3.SG-IND
he walked for many day (sleeping and waking, he walked on)

hao- lo heti- lo hu-mo u- na yo- to' va'yu hu-d- i- e
sleep-CPL *get up*-CPL *do*-ACT *go*-3.SG *house*-AD *arrive-* PAST-3.SG-IND
after he had walked for many days, (sleeping and waking), he arrived at home

elemi- le hei- de-le ne- s- a- e *they are going down and up*
go down-CPL *go up*-?- CPL PROG-*do*-3.PL-IND

2.3.3.27 Referent Action

The marker with the allomorphs -ese', -'ese', and -gese' links together verb actions which may be successive or simultaneous. This marker may, depending on the verb to which it is suffixed, be glossed as *while, when,* or *if.*

The allomorphs of this marker occur as follows:

-ese' and -'ese' with medial verb forms, and -gese' suffixed to the verb stem.

-ese' and -'ese' could be either identical with the comitative marker, (2.1.2.7) or else with the morpheme described in 2.3.3.13.3 plus benefactive marker. The allomorph -ese' is usually regressively assimilated with the vowel preceding it:

bei- d- i- ga-ni- ese-bo > beidiganesebo *while he was living*
live-PAST-3.SG-NI-3.SG.-ese-CON

but: ne'- a'- aga-ni- 'ese-bo *while they* dl *are/were coming,*
PROG-*come* 3.DL-NI- 3.SG-'ese-CON *he...*

The allomorph -gese' (the initial g- may be identical with the future tense marker) occurs suffixed to the verb stem, or to the PN marker of a final verb:

lugo-'a gitegi-gese' h- i- ga-ni ve bogo-ma' gea' ao-na
neck-his cut- gese' *do*-3.SG-NI-3.SG *man one-* PIV *call* 3.SG
to- d- i- e *while he was about to cut his neck,*
put-PAST-3.SG-IND *another man called him*

gagaea eli- ka da-hato- ka da-to- gese- bo da-t- o
you *take*-2.SG *me-stroke*-2.SG *me-put*-gese'-CON *me-put*-IM
if you are going to stroke me, stroke me

i- da su he- d- i- gese' gata'
go-3.PL *finish*-PAST-3.SG-gese' *like*
it is like all of them having gone

2.3.4 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs occupy the verb slot in transitive clauses. Transitivity of a verb may be indicated

by preceding object, or
by object prefix, or
by compounding which makes an intransitive verb transitive, or
by any combination of the preceding three processes.

2.3.4.1 *Transitive Verbs without Prefixation*

A great number of transitive verbs never occurs with the prefixed object marker. One reason for it is that many transitive verbs occur only with inanimates as objects, that means the grammatical object for those would be the 3. person singular, and therefore the object marker is zero.

Examples for such verbs are:

bao-	*to pick, to harvest*
bolo-	*to put (inanimates)*
dakei-	*to swallow*
do-	*to eat*
fagani-	*to sew*
fei-	*to pierce, to plant*
gafafei-	*to hollow out*
gali-	*to plant*
gano-	*to grind*
gao-	*to burn, to cook*
gavi-	*to dig*
gi-	*to build, to fasten*
gitegi-	*to cut off*
govi-	*to carry on shoulder (men) or head (women)*
hanî-	*to chew*
hetei-	*to fell*
hevi-	*to fetch*
lagei-	*to cut off*
legi-	*to chop*
poloti-	*to split*
tagao-	*to break off*
talo-	*to unfold*
vakéi-	*to pull out of the ground*
yagano-	*to divide out*
yakei-	*to spread out*

(the list is by far not exhaustive)

Clause examples:

ya' bae- ta ga- eo *pick* pl *taro and cook them!*
taro pick-2.PL *cook*-IM PL

a- ba' gukae faga-no'- n- i- e *the woman is sewing up the*
woman-PIV *cloth* -PROG- 3.SG-IND *cloth*
sew-

hamu-ma' igopa gafafei- d- i- e *the rat dug a hole in the*
rat- PIV *ground hollow out*-PAST-3.SG-IND *ground*

ni' hevi- ka d- o *fetch water and drink!*
water fetch-2.SG *eat*-IM SG

hali poloti-s- u'- e *let us* dl *split firewood*
firewood split- IFUT-1.DL-IND

There are other transitive verbs which, though occurring with animates, never carry the object prefix. That prefix is then carried by the following verb to- which acts as an auxiliary as it becomes the object carrier for the preceding verb. (cf. 2.3.4.21)

Examples for such verbs are:

eli-	*to take*
galopao-	*to take off*
gei-	*to care for, to look after*
tikao-	*to cover, to veil*
vei-	*to wrap*

(for clause examples, cf. under 2.3.4.21)

2.3.4.11 Transitivity by compounding

Some verbs which are basically intransitive, can be made transitive by compounding with other verbs which have a transitive meaning, and apply that meaning to the intransitive verb. The "transitivizer" verb precedes the "transitivized" verb, occurring in medial subject-identical form. The most frequently occurring "transitivizer" verbs are ao- *to step, to tread,* bolo- *to put,* and eli- *to take, to make.* Besides that, ei- *to hit* occurs very infrequently (it more often serves for making transitive verbs intransitive, cf. 2.3.5.2). begi- *to beat,* and fei- *to pierce* occur occasionally to turn intransitive verbs transitive.
Examples:

ao- dolopao- *to break by stepping* from dolopao- *to break* vi
ao- hálo- *to lighten* from hálo- *to be light*
ao- heti- *to erect* from heti- *to stand up*
ao- takolo- *to peel off* from takolo- *to peel* vi
begi- agotavei- *to knock to the ground* from agotavei- *to fall to the ground*
bolo- gabao- *to attach* from gabao- *to stick*
bolo- lapanao- *to push down* from lapanao- *to sink*

ei- pokao- *to break* from pokao- *to break* vi
eli- falaki- *to hide* vt from falaki- *to hide* vi
eli- goli- *to tip over* from goli- *to roll over*
eli- heti- *to erect* from heti- *to stand up*
eli- o- *to bring* from o- *to come*
eli- tegino- *to return* s.th. from tegino- *to turn* vi
fei- saga hu- *to lift up* from saga hu- *to rise*

Clause examples:

yava gopa ao- da dolopao-d- u- e *I broke the branch by stepping*
tree branch step-1.SG *break*- PAST-1.SG-IND *on it*

gani- ba' yo' ao- na ha-no'- l - e *the torch is lighting up*
torch-PIV *house step*-3.SG -PROG- 3.SG IND *the house*
be light-

yava' eli- ta goli- s- un- e *let us tip the stone over!*
stone take-1.PL *roll over*-IFUT-1.PL-IND

It may be noted here, especially since the above list of verbs cannot be exhaustive in the framework of this grammar, that compounding of the above kind may sometimes be semantically intransitive, especially the compound with ao-, since the gloss *to step, to tread* may often be interpreted as intransitive.

2.3.4.2 *Transitive verbs with object prefixes*

Object prefixes are short forms of personal pronouns, and are described in 2.1.1.22. They may occur with any transitive verb which has animates as objects. The affixation of the marker occurs either direct to the verb stem, or else to the auxiliary verb to-.

Examples for verbs which take an object marker prefixed directly to their stem, are:

aeli- *to show*
afolo- *to take away*
agaso- *to surpass*
agavei- *to lead*
agei- *to look after*
ago- *to see*
ami- *to give*
begi- *to beat*
ei- *to beat*
habao- *to help*

hako-	*to recognize*
hao-	*to shoot*
hapei-	*to tell*
hato-	*to stroke*
havei-	*to chase*
to-	*to put (animates)*
tolo-	*to throw away, to leave*
vákei-	*to butcher, to slaughter*
vato-	*to find, to meet*

The prefixation goes always direct to the stem with no other prefix being inserted between the object marker and the stem. Polysyllabic stems which infix the negation and aspect markers (cf. 2.3.1.5 and 2.3.2.21.2), prefix the object marker to the first part of the stem. Examples:

Monosyllabic: hao- *to shoot*

da-hao- d- i- e *he shot me*
me-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

no- da-h- a- e *he is shooting me*
PROG-*me-shoot*-3.SG-IND

a- da-h- a- e *he does not shoot me*
NEG-*me-shoot*-3.SG-IND

no'- a'- da-h- a- e *he is not shooting me*
PROG-NEG-*me-shoot*-3.SG-IND

Polysyllabic: agavei- *to lead*

d- agavei-d- i- e *he lead me*
me-lead- PAST-3.SG-IND

d- aga-no'- v - ei- e *he is leading me*
me- -PROG- 3.SG-IND
lead-

d- aga'-a'- v- ei- e *he does not lead me*
me- NEG- 3.SG-IND
lead

d- aga-no'- a'- v - ei- e *he is not leading me*
me- PROG-NEG- 3.SG-IND
lead-

Clause examples:

game de- ma' ougegesa gave- loti' da-begi-d- i- e
fight man-PIV *big* *stick*-INST *me-beat*-PAST-3.SG-IND
the enemy beat me with a big stick

go' p- ei- d- i- e *the rain hit them*
rain them-hit-PAST-3.SG-IND

soko yo' ne- k- i- ma- bose' fabae- s- un- e
good house PROG-*build*-3.SG-PIV-MOT *them help*-IFUT-1.PL-IND
because they are building a nice house, let us help them

hemeti gayale sole'na pa- va'-no- k-oun- e
now *pig* *plenty* *them-* PROG- 1.PL-IND
butcher-
today we are butchering many pigs

Some verbs, which can be termed "bitransitive", occur with two objects[37], inanimate and animate, the first indicated by a free word, the latter by a prefix, and optionally a free word:

avo- di-ma' igopa d- aeli-d- i- e *my father showed me the*
father-my-PIV *ground me-show*-PAST-3.SG-IND *ground*

tikisa de- ma' hagita p- afolo- d- i- e
teacher man-PIV *knife* *them-take away*-PAST-3.SG-IND
the teacher took the knife away from them

hava de agaea yale hage p- ami- d- i- e
albino man he *people salt* *them-give*-PAST-3.SG-IND
the white man gave the people salt

vato' ge bogo ga- hapei-g- u- e *I shall tell you something else*
other word one *you-tell-* FUT-1.SG-IND

2.3.4.21 Object markers prefixed to the verb to-

As quite a number of verb stems do not prefix the object marker, the verb to- *to put, to place (animates only)* follows such verbs as an auxiliary. The preceding verb which always occurs as medial verb with identical subject marker, carries the semantics of this verb-verb compound, whereas to- occurs as carrier of the object.

The verbs occurring in this kind of construction, show a number of different features, and may therefore be categorized as follows:

The verbs listed in the last paragraph of 2.3.4.1, just use the verb to- to indicate their object:

a- ba' bade bogo eli- na ø- to- d- i- e
woman-PIV *boy one take*-3.SG *him-put*-PAST-3.SG-IND
the woman has borne a boy

bade abade gei- da no- pa- t- o- e
boy girl look after-1.SG PROG-*them-put*-1.SG-IND
I am looking after the children

hiya-ba' tikao-na la-to- d- i- e *the fog enshrouded us*
fog- PIV *cover*-3.SG *us-put*-PAST-3.SG-IND

gae- loti' vei- da da-te- d- a- e *they wrapped me with a cloth*
cloth-INST *wrap*-3.PL *me-put*-PAST-3.PL-IND

Other verbs use the auxiliary to indicate an animate object beside the inanimate which occurs as a free word.
Verbs of this category are:

afei- *to carry hanging from the shoulder*
afei- to- *to hang on to s.o.'s shoulder*
bosi- *to refuse*
bosi- to- *to prohibit*
folo- *to rub*
folo- to- *to rub on to s.o.*
gani- *to close*
gani- to- *to exclude s.o.*
lekapei- *to count*
lekapei- to- *to promise*

Clause examples:

gu- di a-no- f- ou- e *I am carrying my netbag hanging from*
netbag-my -PROG- 1.SG-IND *the shoulder*
carry hanging from shoulder-

gu- 'a afei- na no- da-t- e
netbag-his carry hanging from shoulder- 3.SG PROG-*me-put*-3.SG IND
he is hanging his netbag on to my shoulder

dote'na bosi- d- i- e *he refused the food*
food refuse-PAST-3.SG-IND

dote'na bosi- da no'- lapa- t- o- e *I am forbidding you* pl *to*
food *refuse*-1.SG PROG-*you* pl-*put*-1.SG-IND *eat*

yo' leka-no- p-ei- e *he is counting the houses*
house PROG- 3.SG-IND
count-

a'i igopa lekapei-na pa- to- d- i- e *he promised them that*
that land count 3.SG *them-put*-PAST-3.SG-IND *land*

The verbs made transitive by compounding, (cf. 2.3.4.11), do not suffix the object marker direct, but use the auxiliary:

yege-ma' ao- na halo- na no'- la-t- e
sun- PIV *tread*-3.SG *be light*-3.SG PROG-*us-put*-3.SG IND
the sun is illuminating us

dagaea game de begi-da agotavei- da ø- to- d- u- e
I *fight man beat*-1.SG *fall to ground*-1.SG *him-put*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I knocked the enemy dead to the ground

bade yuva yo- ti- vi' eli- ta falaki-ta pa- to- d- un- e
boy group house-our-IN *take*-1.PL *hide-* 1.PL *them-put*-PAST-1.PL-IND
we hid the boys in our house

meba de eli- da heti- da ø- te- d- a- e
member man take-3.PL *stand up*-3.PL *him-put*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they elected a member (of the House of Assembly)

Some intransitive verbs are made transitive simply by being compounded with to-:

bubolo- *to be astonished*
bubolo- to- *to praise*
eida' hu- *to spit*
eida' hu- to- *to spit at s.o.*
hegoto- *to be first*
hegoto- to- *to put s.o. in front*
hágo- *to be well*
hágo- to- *to show kindness*

Clause examples:

lopa yale bubolo- ta no- pa- t- on- e *we are praising*
aged people be astonished-1.PL PROG-*them-put*-1.PL-IND *the old people*

hegoto- na lapa- te- s- i- e *he shall put you* pl *in front*
be first-3.SG *you* pl-*put*-FUT-3.SG-IND

Note: The auxiliary to- is also used for expressing what in English would be glossed as benefactive action:

havili yagita hu-na da-to- d- i- e
meal *prepare-* 3.SG *me-put*-PAST-3.SG-IND
he prepared a meal for me

Double indication of the object by prefixes, referring to one and the same object, occurs infrequently with compound verbs, e.g.:

a ei- to-	*to bind to silence*
ageta eli- to-	*to admonish*
hao- gagupao- to-	*to shoot down*
hao- gi- to-	*to shoot dead*

Clause examples:

hoya-ti eli- s- u- pe' l- ageta eli- da la-te- d- a- e
work-our make-IFUT-1.PL-ANT *us-ear* *take*-3.PL *us-put*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they admonished us to do our work

hali- loti' ga- hao- da gagupao- da ga- to- g- u- e
arrow-INST *you-shoot*-1.SG *fall over*-1.SG *you-put*-FUT-1.SG-IND
I shall shoot you down with an arrow

2.3.4.3 *Impersonal constructions*

There are verbs in Yagaria which are structurally transitive, but not semantically. Structurally, the subject in such verbs is the 3. person singular. Semantically, it is an animate which in the structure occurs as object. That semantic subject becomes obvious as subject in medial clauses where the identity of the subject with an animate is usually shown by the medial verb form. (see clause examples below)

Some of these verbs are:

amu' lo-	*to be sore*
anu' tegi-	*to have headache*
eise ao-	*to sweat*
eiya lo'ao-	*to be lame*
agavu gi-	*to ache*
agekani-	*to forget*
amota ei-	*to be afraid*
amu hu-	*to suffice*
hei' vei-	*to be angry*

alaga hao-	*to be bored*
gei hei-	*to be sick*
gugo' hao-	*to cough*
tete hei-	*to tremble*
gei hágo-	*to recover*

All of these verbs are compound verbs, also agekani-[38] which consists of agé, a basic form of the word ageta *ear*, and gani- *to close*. All these verbs belong into the group of verbs described in 2.3.5.1, but because of their special status as structurally transitive verbs, they are dealt with in this section.

The verbs of the first two groups prefix their object marker to the preceding verb adjunct, the verbs of the last group prefix them to the auxiliary.

Adjuncts of the first group can be explained as nouns which are inalienably possessed by prefixation:

damuna	*my sore*
danuna	*my head*
deise	*my sweat*
deiya	*my leg*

These adjuncts become the subject of expressions like:

d- amu' no- da-l- e *my sore is burning* i.e. *I am sore*
my-sore PROG-*me-burn*-3.SG IND

d- anu' no- teg- i- e *my head is splitting* i.e. *I am suffering*
my-head PROG-*split*-3.SG-IND *from headache*

d- eise no- a- e *my sweat is coming forth* i.e. *I am sweating*
my-sweat PROG-*tread*-3.SG IND

d- eiya lo'-no'- a-e *my leg is bending* i.e. *I am lame*
my-leg -PROG- 3.SG IND
bend-

The prefixes with the second group cannot as easily be explained except maybe

d- age- no- kan- i- e *my ear is closing* i.e. *I am forgetting*
my-(ear)-PROG-*close*-3.SG-IND

Rather, they have to be glossed as follows:

d- agavu no- k- i- e *pain is gripping me* i.e. *I am feeling*
me-pain PROG-*fasten*-3.SG-IND *pain*

d- amota no'- ei- e *fear is striking me* i.e. *I am afraid*
me-fear PROG-*hit*-3.SG IND

d- amu no- s- i- e *sufficiency is extended to me* i.e.
me-sufficiency PROG-*do*-3.SG-IND *I am satisfied*

da-hei' no'- v- ei- e *anger is enveloping me* i.e. *I am angry*
me-anger PROG-*wrap*-3.SG-IND

In the same way, verbs of the third group which have transitive verbs with direct object prefixation as auxiliaries, have to be glossed:

alaga no- da-h- a- e *boredom is piercing me* i.e. *I am bored*
boredom PROG-*me-shoot*-3.SG-IND

gei no- da-h- ei- e *sickness is taking hold of me* i.e.
sickness PROG-*me-do*-3.SG-IND *I am sick*

gugo' no- da-h- a- e *cough is piercing me* i.e. *I am coughing*
cough PROG-*me-shoot*-3.SG-IND

tete no- da-h- ei- e *trembling is taking hold of me* i.e.
trembling PROG-*me-do*-3.SG-IND *I am trembling*

gei- di da-hago- d- i- e *my sickness - it has gone well with*
sickness-my me-be well-PAST-3.SG-IND *me* i.e. *I have recovered*

The prevalence of the semantic subject becomes obvious in sentence medial position of these verbs as quite often the grammatical subject is overruled by the semantic subject, and the identity of the latter with the animate subject of the following clause is shown.

Of the examples listed hereunder, the ones marked with an asterisc are not ungrammatical, but their pattern is not as frequently used as the other one.

dagae-se' lap- agekani-ta da-tele- d- a- e
I- BEN *you* pl-*forget-* 2.PL *me-leave*-PAST-2.PL-IND
you pl *forgot about me, and left me*

* dagae-se' lap- agekan-i- ga-tapi da-tele- d- a- e
I- BEN *you* pl-*forget*-3.SG-NI-*you* pl *me-leave*-PAST-2.PL-IND
you pl *forgot about me, and left me*

da-hei' vei- da hu'asu' ge hu- da to- d- u- e
me-anger wrap-1.SG *bad word say*-1.SG *put*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I was angry, and abused him

* da-hei' v- ei- ga-da hu'asu' ge hu- da to- d- u- e
me-anger wrap-3.SG-NI-*I bad word say*-1.SG *put*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I was angry, and abused him

gei- di da-hago- da hava'a bei- d- u- e
sickness-my me-go well-1.SG *just so live*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I recovered, and am well now

* gei- di da-hag- e- ga-da hava'a bei- d- u- e
sickness-my me-go well-3.SG-NI-*I just so live*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I recovered, and am well now

Some verbs may occur equally in a personal or an impersonal construction, e.g.:

oubibi' hu- *to be tired*

d- oubibi no- s- i- e *I am tired*
me-tired PROG-*do*-3.SG-IND

d-oubibi' no- s- u- e *I am tired*
I-tired PROG-*do*-1.SG-IND

hei' vei- *to be angry*

da-hei' no'- v- ei- e *I am angry*
me-anger PROG-*wrap*-3.SG-IND

da-hei' no'- v- ou- e *I am angry*
I- anger PROG-*wrap*-1.SG-IND

2.3.4.4 *Reciprocal actions*

Only two verbs are known which can express reciprocity in a special construction. They are ami- *to give,* and nuki- *to embrace.*

i'ami a'ami hu- *to give to each other, to exchange*
i'nuki a'nuki hu- *to embrace each other*

These two, as well as the verb lole ho- *to help each other,* which has also a reciprocal meaning, are actually compound verbs as discussed in 2.3.5.

Move yale- 'ese' Ologuti yale- 'e' ana i'ami a'ami ne- s-a- e
Move people-COM *Ologuti people*-COM *woman* PROG- 3.PL-IND
give each other-
the Move people and the Ologuti people exchange women (intermarry)

ve lole tagaea i-nuki a'nuki hi- d- a'- e
man two they dl *embrace each other*-PAST-3.DL-IND
the two men embraced each other

dote'na-e' lole no- s- on- e *we are helping each other with*
food- BEN PROG- 1.PL-IND *food*
help each other-

For close-knit verb phrases to express reciprocity, cf. 3.1.2.2.

Reduplication of the emphatic pronoun is also a way of expressing reciprocity, even in cases where the verb is intransitive:

lapagae-tipi lapagae-tipi game' a- si-io
you pl- *yourselves you* pl- *yourselves fight* NEG-*do*-IM PL
do pl *not fight against each other!*

pagae-pi pagae-pi valu hi-da bei- d- a- e
they- themselves they- themselves friend do-3.PL *live*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they lived as friends amongst themselves

Otherwise reciprocal actions have to be described in sentences involving at least two clauses (cf. Syntax, 3.3.1.2).

2.3.4.5 *Reflexive Actions*

An action in which the actor is also the object, may be expressed with the noun ouva *body,* e.g.

d- ouva-di begi-d- u- e *I hit myself*
my-body-my beat-PAST-1.SG-IND

g- ouva-ka ni' fol- o *wash yourself!*
your-body-your water wash-IM SG

2.3.5 Compound verbs

More than half of the verbs occurring in Yagaria, are compound verbs. There are different kinds of compounds:

Adjunct-auxiliary compounds,
Verb-verb compounds,
Complex compounds, e.g. verb-adjunct-auxiliary.

2.3.5.1 *Adjunct-auxiliary compounds*

The bulk of compound verbs are of this type. This kind of compound occurs in similar forms also in other NAN languages of New Guinea, and has been termed in its descriptions e.g. "Complex verb"[39], "Periphrastic verb complex"[40], "Predication"[41].

These verbs consist of a complex of two words:

A non-inflected word, termed adjunct, which carries the meaning of the compound, and
A fully inflected verb which in many cases loses its original meaning completely, and becomes the mere carrier of the verbal functions of the compound, an "auxiliary verb".

The adjuncts are usually associated with one auxiliary verb only, though there are some exceptions, e.g.

hetama bolo-	*to divide out*
hetama ei-	*to divide out*
hetama vei-	*to divide out*
tete hu-	*to tremble*
tete hei-	*to tremble*
hou' ei-	*to protect*
hou' hu-	*to be sad*
go' ei-	*to rain*
go' eli-	*to dawn*

Morphologically, most of these compound verbs cannot be distinguished from object-verb structures, and it may well be that these adjunct-auxiliary compounds originally were object-verb structures, which eventually developed into independent verbs of this form. As illustration for that possibility two clauses containing the noun hoka *plug* may serve:

go-	pi'	hoka	no-	k-		u-	e	*I am putting a plug into the bamboo tube*
bamboo-IN		*plug*	PROG-	*fasten*-		1.SG-	IND	
LOC		OBJ	VB					

go'	hoka	no-	k-u-	e		*I am plugging up the bamboo tube*
bamboo		PROG-	1.SG-	IND		
	plug up-					
OBJ	VB					

2.3.5.11 The adjunct

Many of the words occurring as adjuncts, are so closely attached to the compound, that they do not occur in any other function. Examples for those compounds are:

gigi hu- *to laugh*
dupu hu- *to gather*
fuvu hu- *to blow*
pe hu- *to bow*
va'yu hu- *to arrive*
vuyu hu- *to pull*
gini ei- *to nod*
dogosa ei- *to swim*
galu' ho- *to untie*
gapu ao- *to stir*
agavu gi- *to ache*

Other words, however, may occur apart from the verb compound as substantive-like words (nouns or adjectives), e.g.:

aepa hu- *to begin*
aepa *beginning, origin, essence*

Ologuti yale- 'i' aepa havi-d- u- e
Ologuti people-REL *essence know*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I know what the Ologuti people are like

bina fei- *to buy*
bina *price*

havu-ma' bina- 'a dabegine
bow- PIV *price-its how much*
what is the price of the bow?

eigava ei- *to wake up* vi
eigava *new*

eigava bade abade sukulu yo- pi' hei- d- a- e
new boy girl school house-IN *go up*-PAST-3.PL-IND
the new children went into the school

eida' ho- *to spit*
eida' hu- *to spit*

eidana *saliva*

ni' eidana *foam*
water saliva

aleta fei- *to kneel*
aleta *knee*

hali- loti' d- aleta-vi' da-hao- d- i- e
arrow-INST *my-knee-* IN *me-shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND
he hit me with an arrow in the knee

haku ei- *to fly*
haku *wing*

nama haku-'a lo'ao-d- i- e
bird wing-its bend- PAST-3.SG-IND
the bird's wing is broken

The only affixation an adjunct may take, is the prefixation of a pronoun marker. That pronoun marker may indicate either the acting person, or the object.
Examples for indication of subject:

d-eida' no- s-o- e *I am spitting*
I- PROG- 1.SG-IND
spit-

p- aleta fei-d- a- e *they kneeled*
they-kneel- PAST-3.PL-IND

l- ago'yu ei-d- un- e *we were angry*
we-be angry- PAST-1.PL-IND

hu-da d-ageta no- s-u- e *I am remembering*
-1.SG *I* PROG- 1.SG-IND
remember-

d-oune ho-d- u- e *I fled*
I-flee PAST-1.SG-IND

Examples for indication of object:

da-tava hu-d- i- e *he grabbed me*
me-grab PAST-3.SG-IND

da-vuyu hi-d- a- e *they pulled (invited) me*
me-pull PAST-3.PL-IND

d- agebu' gi- d- i- e *he carried me on his back*
me-carry on back-PAST-3.SG-IND

hu-na d-ageta no- s-i- e *he is reminding me*
3.SG *me-* PROG- 3.SG-IND
remind-

p- oune ho-d- u- e *I woke them up*
them-wake up-PAST-1.SG-IND

2.3.5.12 The auxiliary

The most common auxiliary is hu- *to be, to say, to do.* Besides it, the following verbs have been observed as auxiliaries in compound verbs:

ei-	*to hit*
ho-	*to hit*
ao-	*to tread*
eli-	*to take*
bolo-	*to put*
fei-	*to pierce*
vei-	*to wrap*
gi-	*to fasten*
lo-	*to burn*
to-	*to put (animates)*
hei-	*to do to s.o.*
hao-	*to shoot*
hago-	*to be well*
yagei-	*to be on alert*
gao-	*to burn*

These verbs quite often lose their original and independent meaning completely when taking up their position as auxiliaries.

The auxiliary verbs are usually fully inflected, carrying any of the verb affixes, as tense, aspect, mood, person-number, and negation. They may occur in any final or medial position verb form.

Though pronoun markers, especially object markers with transitive and impersonal verbs, usually occur prefixed to the adjunct, some auxiliaries may occasionally occur with such prefixation:

dote'na-e' haga' no- da-h- ei- e *I like the food*
food- BEN *tasty* PROG-*me-do*-3.SG-IND

alaga da-hao- d- i- e *I was bored*
boredom me-shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

gugo'na da-hei-d- i- e *I had a cough*
cough me-do- PAST-3.SG-IND

If neither the adjunct nor the auxiliary occur with the object prefix, the verb to- is used for further compounding to indicate the object:

galu' ho-ta pa- to- d- un- e *we untied them*
untie 1.PL *them-put*-PAST-1.PL-IND

ga yagei-ta no- ka- t- on- e *we are watching you*
watch- 1.PL PROG-*you-put*-1.PL-IND

loka' hi-da da-te- d- a- e *they asked me*
ask 3.PL *me-put*-PAST-3.PL-IND

Double prefixation may occur occasionally, and can indicate the following:

Either the acting person with adjunct and auxiliary:

d-eipa da- ha'-no- k- o- e *I am tender-hearted*
I- *I-* PROG- 1.SG-IND
tender-hearted-

Or the object with adjunct and auxiliary:

p- ageta eli-na pa- to- d- i- e *he admonished them*
them- 3.SG *them-* -PAST-3.SG-IND
admonish-

Or the acting person with the adjunct, and the object with the auxiliary:

p- eini' ne- da-h- ei- e *they are disgusting me*
they-disgust PROG-*me-do*-3.SG-IND

d-aketa ei-da pa- to-d- u- e *I turned my back on them*
I- 1.SG *them-* PAST-1.SG-IND
turn back-

2.3.5.2 *Verb-verb compound*

The chaining of verb stems directly to each other hardly ever occurs in Yagaria. Therefore if two or more verbs are compounded, they all have to be inflected which means that all but the last occur as obligatory medial verbs.

Examples:

ao- da gasili-d- u- e *I stepped into something soft*
step-1.SG *decay*- PAST-1.SG-IND

yo- pi' bele-da eli- da bei-d- a- e
house-IN *put*- 3.PL *take*-3.PL *sit*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they sit closely squeezed together in the house

ba lo- na sogo- d- i- e *the sweet potato burned*
sweet potato -3.SG PAST-3.SG-IND *on one side*
burn on one side-

Negation occurs always with the last verb of the compound to negate the whole compound:

eiva- vi' ao- da a- kasili-d- u- e *I did not step into the*
faeces-IN *step*-1.SG NEG-*decay*- PAST-1.SG-IND *faeces*

Object prefixation with transitive verb-verb compounds occurs always with the last verb:

game yale yo- pi' bei- ga-pi gae- da pa- sagali-d-
fight people house-IN *sit* 3.PL-NI-*they burn*-3.PL *them-burn*- PAST-
a- e
3.PL-IND
while the enemies sat in the house, they burned them

Intransitive verbs which may be turned transitive by compounding with a preceding transitive verb, are described under 2.3.4.11. The opposite process of turning transitive into intransitive verbs takes place through compounding with the verb ei- *to hit*.

Note: This verb which is basically transitive, may at times turn intransitive verbs transitive, or by compounding just intensify the meaning of a verb which is already transitive or intransitive.

Examples:
galopao- *to take off*
ei- galopao- *to come off*
lo'ao- *to break into pieces* vt
ei- lo'ao- *to break up* vi
tikao- *to cover*
ei- tikao- *to hide* vi
yahae' hu- *to turn* vt
ei- yahae' hu- *to turn around* vi
galu' ho- *to untie*
ei- galu' ho- *to come loose (rope)*

2.3.5.3 *Complex compounds*

These are usually combinations of adjunct-auxiliary compounds with a preceding verb and/or the following auxiliary to-.

ya' tupa hani-da gaya' ho- d- u- e
taro piece bite 1.SG *break off*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I bit a piece off the taro

yava' eli- ta foko hi- s- un- e
money take- 1.PL *separate*-IFUT-1.PL-IND
let us divide out the money

yao- vinaga eli- da folo' ei-da pa- to- d- u- e
forest-IN *take*-1.SG *appear*-1.SG *them-put*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I found them in the forest

2.3.5.4 *Intermediate verbs, or verb accumulation*

Polysyllabic verb stems with more than one non-reduced syllable infix the present progressive marker and the negative marker instead of prefixing them (cf. 2.3.1.5 and 2.3.2.21.2). Most probably there were no polysyllabic verb stems originally, and the present polysyllabic verb stems were originally compound verbs which eventually got moulded together into an inseparable verb stem unit. Of some polysyllabic stems, the separation of roots is still possible:

agekani-	*to forget*	<	age' + ganí-	*ear + to close*
agaso-	*to surpass*	<	aga' + ho-	? *+ to hit, beat*
agavei-	*to lead*	<	aga + vei-	? *+ to wrap*

There is a tendency with some speakers, and with a limited number of verbs so far, to make the process complete by prefixing the present progressive and negative markers to polysyllabic verb stems even when they have more than one non-reduced syllable. For instance, the verb hápei- *to tell* may occur with the following forms:

da-ha'-no- p-ei- e *he is telling me*
me- PROG- 3.SG-IND
tell-

no- da-hap- ei- e *he is telling me*
PROG-*me-tell*-3.SG-IND

da-ha'-a- p-ei- e *he does not tell me*
me- NEG- 3.SG-IND
tell-

a- da-hap- ei- e *he does not tell me*
NEG-*me*-*tell*-3.SG-IND

da-ha'-no'- a- p-ei- e *he is not telling me*
me- PROG-NEG- 3.SG-IND
tell-

no'- a- da-hap- ei- e *he is not telling me*
PROG-NEG-*me*-*tell*-3.SG-IND

The forms with the infixed morphemes, however, are still the more frequently occurring ones.

Examples for the accumulation of compound verbs into single units are also the verb-verb compounds hei- o- *to come up*, emi- o- *to come down*, eli- o- *to bring*, and eli- u- *to take away*. Since the direct chaining of verb stems is not possible, forms of these compound verbs show regressive assimilation of their vowels in speech, so that, apart from the double stress, they occur phonologically as word units (cf. under morphophonemics, 1.2).

2.3.6 Irregular verbs

Four verbs, two of class 1 and two of class 2, show irregularities in their inflection so that a separate description is necessary, especially since they are among the most frequently occurring verbs in Yagaria.

Their irregularity shows

by the distribution of verb stem allomorphs,
by special morphophonemic features resulting in additional stem allomorphs: h > s, vowel u > consonant v, zero stem allomorphs,
by different affixation patterns.

Of class 1, the irregular verbs are hu- *to say, to do, to be*, and u- *to go*.

The most obvious irregularity compared with any other class 1 verbs, are the person-number markers occurring with the indicative present tense. They are a mixture of class 1 and class 2 person-number markers, and occur in the same distribution as they do regularly with verbs of any class in any indicative tense but the present (cf. 2.3.2.22).

The other irregular feature shared by the two verbs is the distribution of stem allomorphs in the indicative past and future tenses. Whereas all other class 1 verb stems have only front vowel allomorphs in those tenses, these two follow the general ablaut rule

of 2.3.1.1, and have back vowel allomorphs for all singular and ego persons, and front vowel allomorphs for all non-singular non-ego persons. The general ablaut rule is also followed for all medial subject-identical verb forms, and other dependent verbs, as goal nominalized and quality derivation form.

The regular imperative has a back vowel allomorph in the singular, front vowel allomorphs in dual and plural. The first and third person imperative has a front vowel allomorph.

Non-identical medial verb forms follow in their distribution of stem allomorphs the forms from which they are derived.

Of class 2 the irregular verbs are ho- *to hit,* and o- *to come.*

In their distribution of stem allomorphs, these verbs follow the general ablaut rule as all regular class 2 verbs. The irregularity of the two verbs shows mainly in stem allomorphs which occur because of special morphophonemic features and vowel assimilation.

2.3.6.1 *The verb* hu- *to say, to do, to be*

Note: hu-, besides meaning *to say, to do, to be,* functions especially as auxiliary verb for many adjunct-auxiliary compound verbs (cf. 2.3.5.1), and as auxiliary in modified verb phrases (cf. 3.1.2.12). It also may, together with a purposive clause, express willingness or intention to do something:

begi-s- u- me' hu- d- u- e
beat-IFUT-1.SG-ANT *say*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I wanted to hit him, or *I was going to hit him*

The vowel assimilation which has led to the present tense forms of hu-, is a regressive one, and is assumed to be as follows:

Singular	1.	hu- + ue > huue > hue
	2.	hi- + ane > hiane > hane
	3.	hi- + ie > hiie > hie
Dual	1.	hu- + u'e > huu'e > hu'e
	2.	hi- + a'e > hia'e > ha'e
	3.	hi- + a'e > hia'e > ha'e
Plural	1.	hu- + une > huune > hune
	2.	hi- + ae > hiae > hae
	3.	hi- + ae > hiae > hae

The distribution of stem allomorphs in the present tense follows the special ablaut rule for the present tense as described in 2.3.2.21.1.

A morphophonemic idiosyncrasy of the verb hu- (which it shares with ho-, cf. 2.3.6.3) is the fact that after glottal stop the initial h changes into s (' + h > s), that is after the present progressive marker and the negative marker, which, because of that assimilation, both occur in their allomorphic forms with open syllables.

Because of the h > s change, the verb occurs with six different stem allomorphs: hu-, hi-, h-, su-, si-, and s-.

Paradigm of hu-:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Present Tense			
1.	hue	hu'e	hune
2.	hane	ha'e	hae
3.	hie	ha'e	hae
Present tense, negated			
1.	asue	asu'e	asune
2.	asane	asa'e	asae
3.	asie	asa'e	asae
Present tense, progressive			
1.	nosue	nosu'e	nosune
2.	nosane	nesa'e	nesae
3.	nosie	nesa'e	nesae

(The negated forms are no'asue, no'asane etc.)

Past tense			
1.	hudue	hudu'e	hudune
2.	hudane	hida'e	hidae
3.	hudie	hida'e	hidae

(The negated forms are asudue, asudane, etc.)

Intentional future tense			
1.	hisue	hisu'e	hisune
2.	hisane	hisa'e	hisae
3.	hisie	hisa'e	hisae

(The negated forms are asisue, asisane, etc.)

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Future tense				
	1.	hugue	hugu'e	hugune
	2.	hugane	higa'e	higae
	3.	hugie	higa'e	higae
	(The negated forms are asugue, asugane, etc.)			
Regular Imperative				
		huo	hi'o	hiio
	negated:	asuo	asi'o	asiio
First and third person imperative			hino	
	negated		asino	
Medial verb, identical subject				
Neutral	1.	huda	huta'a	huta
	2.	huka	hita'a	hita
	3.	huna	hida'a	hida
	(The negated forms are asuda, asuka, etc.)			
Progressive				
	1.	nosuda	nosuta'a	nosuta
	2.	nosuka	nesita'a	nesita
	3.	nosuna	nesida'a	nesida
	(The negated forms are no'asuda, no'asuka, etc.)			
Completed				
	1.	huloda	hulota'a	hulota
	2.	huloka	hileta'a	hileta
	3.	hulona	hileda'a	hileda
	(The negated forms are asuloda, asuloka, etc.)			

2.3.6.2 *The verb* u- *to go*

In the present tense, vowel assimilation which in the 1. persons singular, dual, and plural, and in the 3. person singular, has linked the stem vowel inseparably with the person-number marker, has virtually left those persons with zero stem allomorphs. An allomorphic change of vowel u into consonant v is caused by the following a in the 2. person singular, and the 2. and 3. persons dual and plural.

The assimilation process obviously is as follows:

Singular	1.	u- + ue > uue > ue
	2.	u- + ane > uane > vane
	3.	i- + ie > iie > ie
Dual	1.	u- + u'e > uu'e > u'e
	2.	u- + a'e > ua'e > va'e
	3.	u- + a'e > ua'e > va'e
Plural	1.	u- + une > uune > une
	2.	u- + ae > uae > vae
	3.	u- + ae > uae > vae

The distribution of the original stem allomorphs in the present tense is irregular and follows a pattern of its own, neither the general ablaut rule, nor the special ablaut rule of the present tense.

Paradigm of u-:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Present tense			
1.	ue	u'e	une
2.	vane	va'e	vae
3.	ie	va'e	vae
Present tense, progressive			
1.	no'ue	no'u'e	no'une
2.	no'vane	ne'va'e	ne'vae
3.	no'ie	ne'va'e	ne'vae
Past tense			
1.	udue	udu'e	udune
2.	udane	ida'e	idae
3.	udie	ida'e	idae
Intentional future tense			
1.	isue	isu'e	isune
2.	isane	isa'e	isae
3.	isie	isa'e	isae
Future tense			
1.	ugue	ugu'e	ugune
2.	ugane	iga'e	igae
3.	ugie	iga'e	igae

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Regular Imperative				
		uo	i'o	iio
First and third person imperative			ino	
Medial verb, identical subject				
Neutral	1.	uda	uta'a	uta
	2.	uka	ita'a	ita
	3.	una	ida'a	ida
Progressive				
	1.	no'uda	no'uta'a	no'uta
	2.	no'uka	ne'ita'a	ne'ita
	3.	no'una	ne'ida'a	ne'ida
Completed				
	1.	uloda	ulota'a	ulota
	2.	uloka	ileta'a	ileta
	3.	ulona	ileda'a	ileda

2.3.6.3 *The verb* ho- *to hit, to beat*

The vowel assimilation which has led to the present tense forms, is assumed to be as follows:

Singular	1.	ho- + oe > hooe > hoe
	2.	he- + ane > heane > hane
	3.	he- + ø e > hee > he
Dual	1.	ho- + o'e > hoo'e > ho'e
	2.	he- + a'e > hea'e > ha'e
	3.	he- + a'e > hea'e > ha'e
Plural	1.	ho- + one > hoone > hone
	2.	he- + ae > heae > hae
	3.	he- + ae > heae > hae

The distribution of stem allomorphs follows the special ablaut rule for the present tense.

Vowel assimilation also occurs in the regular imperative:

Singular	ho- + o > hoo > ho
Dual	he- + 'o > he'o
Plural	he- + eo > heeo > heo

In the same way as with hu- (2.3.6.1), the initial h of ho- also changes into s after a glottal stop (' + h > s), i.e. after the present progressive and the negative markers which consequently occur as open syllable allomorphs. The verb occurs with six different stem allomorphs: ho-, he-, h-, so-, se-, s-.

Paradigm of ho-:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Present tense			
1.	hoe	ho'e	hone
2.	hane	ha'e	hae
3.	he	ha'e	hae
Present tense, negated			
1.	asoe	aso'e	asone
2.	asane	asa'e	asae
3.	ase	asa'e	asae
Present tense, progressive			
1.	nosoe	noso'e	nosone
2.	nosane	nesa'e	nesae
3.	nose	nesa'e	nesae

(The negated forms are no'asoe, no'asane etc.)

Past tense			
1.	hodue	hodu'e	hodune
2.	hodane	heda'e	hedae
3.	hodie	heda'e	hedae

(The negated forms are asodue, asodane, etc.)

Intentional future tense			
1.	hesue	hesu'e	hesune
2.	hesane	hesa'e	hesae
3.	hesie	hesa'e	hesae

(The negated forms are asesue, asesane, etc.)

Future tense			
1.	hogue	hogu'e	hogune
2.	hogane	hega'e	hegae
3.	hogie	hega'e	hegae

(The negated forms are asogue, asogane, etc.)

		Singular	Dual	Plural
Regular Imperative				
		ho	he'o	heo
negated		aso	ase'o	aseo
First and third person imperative			heno	
	negated		aseno	
Medial verb, identical subject				
Neutral	1.	hoda	hota'a	hota
	2.	hoka	heta'a	heta
	3.	hona	heda'a	heda
		(The negated forms are asoda, asoka etc.)		
Progressive				
	1.	nosoda	nosota'a	nosota
	2.	nosoka	neseta'a	neseta
	3.	nosona	neseda'a	neseda
		(The negated forms are no'asoda, no'asoka etc.)		
Completed				
	1.	holoda	holota'a	holota
	2.	holoka	heleta'a	heleta
	3.	holona	heleda'a	heleda
		(The negated forms are asoloda, asoloka etc.)		

A derivative verb which needs special attention is agaso- *to surpass*. It appears to have originally been a compound verb with ho- as auxiliary, but has turned into a simple verb in which the original auxiliary verb can still be recognized in its allomorphic forms so-, se-, and s-, occurring in all tenses. The present progressive marker is infixed into the stem:
daganose *he is surpassing me,* but, strangely enough, the negative marker occurs prefixed to the stem:
a'aganosoe *I am not surpassing him*

2.3.6.4 *The verb* o- *to come*

In the present tense, vowel assimilation which has linked the stem vowels inseparably with the person-number markers, has virtually left all persons with zero stem allomorphs.

The assimilation process is obviously as follows:

Singular	1.	o- + oe > ooe > oe
	2.	e- + ane > eane > ane
	3.	e- + ø e > ee > e
Dual	1.	o- + o'e > oo'e > o'e
	2.	e- + a'e > ea'e > a'e
	3.	e- + a'e > ea'e > a'e
Plural	1.	o- + one > oone > one
	2.	e- + ae > eae > ae
	3.	e- + ae > eae > ae

The distribution of the original stem allomorphs follows the special ablaut rule of the present tense.

Vowel assimilation also occurs in the regular imperative, but the singular imperative has been replaced by the first and third person imperative.

Singular	(*o- + o > oo > o)	eno
Dual	e- + 'o > e'o	
Plural	e- + eo > eeo > eo	

Paradigm of o-:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Present tense			
1.	oe	o'e	one
2.	ane	a'e	ae
3.	e	a'e	ae
Present tense, progressive			
1.	no'oe	no'o'e	no'one
2.	no'ane	ne'a'e	ne'ae
3.	no'e	ne'a'e	ne'ae
Past tense			
1.	odue	odu'e	odune
2.	odane	eda'e	edae
3.	odie	eda'e	edae
Intentional future tense			
1.	esue	esu'e	esune
2.	esane	esa'e	esae
3.	esie	esa'e	esae

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Future tense			
1.	ogue	ogu'e	ogune
2.	ogane	ega'e	egae
3.	ogie	ega'e	egae
Regular imperative			
	eno	e'o	eo
First and third person imperative		eno	
Medial verb, identical subject			
Neutral			
1.	oda	ota'a	ota
2.	oka	eta'a	eta
3.	ona	eda'a	eda
Progressive			
1.	no'oda	no'ota'a	no'ota
2.	no'oka	ne'eta'a	ne'eta
3.	no'ona	ne'eda'a	ne'eda
Completed			
1.	oloda	olota'a	olota
2.	oloka	eleta'a	eleta
3.	olona	eleda'a	eleda

3 SYNTAX

This part of the grammar describes how the units dealt with in the "morphology" part, are put together to form larger units: phrases, clauses, and sentences.

3.1 *PHRASES*

Phrases consist potentially of two or more associated words not constituting a clause (it will be seen that verb phrases, however, do not fit completely into this definition).

Phrases fill, typically, but not always, slots on clause level.

In the following sections, phrases are described as being of two main types: Noun phrases and verb phrases.

3.1.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases occur in the following slots in clauses: Subject, object, locational, temporal, benefactive, and instrumental. They also occupy the predicate slot in non-verbal clauses. Certain noun phrases may also occur in the modifier slot in verb phrases.

When a noun phrase occurs in the subject slot, it may occur without any additional marker, especially in intransitive clauses, or the last word of the phrase (in most, but not all cases, the head) may carry the pivotal marker (**-ma' / -ba'** for singular, **-magi'a / -bagi'a** for dual, **-magi / -bagi** for plural), or else the phrase is focused by a pronoun (cf. 3.1.1.2).

When a noun phrase occurs in the object slot, it usually occurs without an additional marker; it may, however, occur as focused phrase if for some reason the object is to be stressed (cf. 3.1.1.2).

When a noun phrase occurs in the locational slot, it contains a locational word, either a free word (cf. under 3.1.1.3) or else the last word of the phrase (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries a locational suffix.

When a noun phrase occurs in the temporal slot, it contains a temporal word, either a free word (cf. under 3.1.1.3), or else the last word of the phrase (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries a locational marker.

When a noun phrase occurs in the instrumental slot, its last word (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries the instrumental marker.

When a noun phrase occurs in the benefactive slot, its last word (in most cases, but not always, the head) carries the benefactive marker.

Noun phrases occupying the predicate slot of non-verbal clauses, occur usually carrying the equation marker, or else the negative or the interrogative marker suffixed to the last word of the phrase.

Noun phrases occurring in the modifier slot of verb phrases, are usually tied into that phrase by means of the auxiliary verb **hu-** (cf. 3.1.2.12).

Examples for the forms which the noun phrases assume for occurrence in the different slots, will be given in all the following sections with the description of the phrases.

3.1.1.1 *Modified noun phrases*

The majority of all noun phrases falls into this category. There are different types of modified noun phrases, and they usually consist of an obligatory head, which is a noun or noun-like word, and one or more optional modifiers. The number of modifiers seldom exceeds three with one head because otherwise the construction becomes clumsy.

Six modifier slots can be stated:

Demonstrative slot (DEM)
Possessive slot (POSS)
Descriptive slot (DES)
Substantive slot (SUB)
Quantifier slot (QUAN)
Qualifier slot (QUAL)

The first four are found preceding the head (H), the last two are usually found following the head, but never more than one modifier following the head slot. The preferred, but not rigidly fixed order of the slots in the phrase is:

$$\pm \text{DEM} \pm \text{POSS} \pm \text{DES} \pm \text{SUB} + \text{H} \pm \text{QUAN} \pm \text{QUAL}$$

Since all the modifiers are optional, quite often a phrase has just one modifier of one or the other kind. These "basic" types will be described in the following sections, and in a last section (3.1.1.17) it will be shown how these basic types may be combined into complex modified phrases.

3.1.1.11 Demonstrative

In this basic type modified noun phrase we have a noun occupying the head slot, preceded by a demonstrative (for demonstratives, cf. 2.1.4).

Examples:

ma'i de	*this man*
this man	
na'i hagita	*that knife*
that knife	
a'i gumana	*that village*
that village	
a'i yava'	*that stone*
that stone	

a'i gava' *that kind*
that kind

a'i gavana *that kind*
that kind

ema gayale *that pig there*
that there pig

buga igopa *that land over there*
that over there land

Examples of phrases occurring in different clause slots:
Subject:

ma'i a- ba' *this woman* subj
this woman-PIV

a'i yale- magi *those people*
that people-PL

Locational:

a'i yo- pi' *in that house*
that house-IN

bega ae- lo' *on that mountain over there*
that over there mountain-AD

(The following example could be explained as a phrase carrying two locative markers, or else as two entities occurring in one and the same slot):

buga- lo' ulina-pi' *over there in the shade*
that over there-AD *shade*-IN

Temporal:

a'i vita' *at that time*
that at time

Instrumental:

ma'i hagita-loti' *with this knife*
this knife- INST

Benefactive:

ma'i yava-e' *for this tree*
this tree-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

uma bade-opa *(it is) not that boy there*
that there boy- NEG

3.1.1.12 Possessive

In this basic type modified noun phrase, we have a noun occupying the head slot, preceded by the possessive slot which may be occupied by any of the following:

A possessive pronoun which may be expanded into a possessive phrase:

dagae' bade *my boy*
my boy

Hane agae' bade *Hane's boy*
Hane his boy

Filigano yale lagae' aepa *the origin of us Filigano people*
Filigano people our origin

A proper name (this construction seems to be restricted to kinship terms which have only optional possessive suffixation);

Hane bade *Hane's boy*
Hane boy

A noun or proper name, and a possessive marker suffixed to the head of the phrase:

Hane bade-'a *Hane's boy*
Hane boy- his

Imala hoya- 'a *Imala's garden*
Imala garden-his

bade havú-'a *the boy's bow*
boy bow- his

A noun or noun phrase suffixed with the pivotal marker:

de- ma' bade *the man's boy*
*man-*PIV *boy*

lopa de- ma' bade *the old man's boy*
*old man-*PIV *boy*

a'i de- ma' bade *that man's boy*
*that man-*PIV *boy*

A noun or noun phrase suffixed with the dual/plural relation marker:

yale- 'i' yona *the people's house*
people-REL *house*

bade-lata- 'i' gayale *the pig of the two boys*
boy- they dl-REL *pig*

heipa' yale- 'i' yona *which people's house?*
which people-REL *house*

Examples for possessive phrases occurring in different clause slots:
Subject:

de- ma' bade-ma' *the man's boy* subj
man-PIV *boy-* PIV

Locational:

dagae' yo- pi' *in my house*
my house-IN

Temporal:

lagae' gana-vi' *at our time*
our time-IN

Instrumental:

gagae' havu-loti' *with your bow*
your bow- INST

Benefactive:

yale- 'i' yo- se' *for the people's house*
people-REL *house*-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

dagae' hoya- e' *(it is) my garden*
my garden-EQ

3.1.1.13 Descriptive

The descriptive slot which precedes the head slot, may be occupied either by attributive words, i.e. adjuncts (mostly adjectives), or by a locational word or phrase, or by a dependent clause. Those three possibilities will be described separately in the following sections.

3.1.1.13.1 Adjuncts

The descriptive slot may be occupied by one or more adjectives (though it is only very infrequently that more than two will occur).

gabe igopa *uninhabited land*
uninhabited land

eigava yona *new house*
new house

havana bade *small boy*
small boy

ge'yavinaga yale *the people of old*
long ago people

ho gavana *good kind*
good kind

soko ougegesa yona *good big house*
good big house

heipa'de *which man?*
which man

heipa'gava' *which kind? how?*
which kind

Examples of phrases occurring in different clause slots:
Subject:

ougegesa de- ma' *the huge man* subj
huge man-PIV

heipa' de- ma' *which man* subj?
which man-PIV

Locational:

soko igopa-lo' *in a good land*
good land- AD

heipa hoya- vi' *in which garden?*
which garden-IN

Temporal:

soko gana-vi' *at a good time*
good time-IN

Instrumental:

legepa havu-loti' *with a big bow*
big *bow-* INST

Benefactive:

havana bade-lose' *for the little boy*
small *boy-* BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

eigava yona- e' *(it is) a new house*
new *house*-EQ

3.1.1.13.2 Locationals

The descriptive slot may be occupied by a locational word or a locational phrase. The occurrence of the latter would be a loop-back and embedding of any other modified noun phrase carrying a locative marker.
Examples:

ni- pi' yaga *animals in (of) the water*
water-IN *animal*

ougegesa yo- pi' yale *the people in the big house*
big *house*-IN *people*

yo- to' yo- to' yale *the people of all places*
house-AD *house*-AD *people*

gavu-viti' gaveda *rope from the bush*
bush-EL *rope*

This type of phrase does not occur so frequently. Here are a few examples of its occurrence in different slots:
Subject:

buga igopa-lo' yale- magi *the people of the country over*
that over there land- AD *people*-PL *there* subj

yo- pi' de- ma' *the man in the house* subj
house-IN *man*-PIV

Instrumental:

gavu-viti' gaveda-loti' *with rope from the bush*
bush-EL *rope-* INST

Benefactive:

hoya- di-vi' yava-e' *for the tree in my garden*
garden-my-IN *tree*-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

yo- ka- logati' yale- vie *people from your village?*
house-your-AB *people*-INT

3.1.1.13.3 Clauses

A loopback from clause to phrase level takes place when dependent clauses occupy the descriptive slot in a modified noun phrase. The verb in those dependent clauses is nominalized by the pivotal marker (cf. 2.3.3.23) or the quality derivative marker -te' (cf. 2.3.3.22). Examples:

o- d- i- ma' bade *the boy who came*
come-PAST-3.SG-PIV *boy*

yaga hao- d- i- ma' de *the man who shot the animal*
animal shoot-PAST-3.SG-PIV *man*

ega fili-te' yale *the people who died yesterday*
yesterday die- QD *people*

ge havi-te' yale *the people who know the language*
word know-QD *people*

ge havi-d- a- ma' yale *the people who heard the talk*
word hear-PAST-3.PL-PIV *people*

hemeti dete' ge hu- d- u- ma' ge *the word I spoke this*
today morning word say-PAST-1.SG-PIV *word morning*

hoya eli- d- u- pa' gava' *the way we did the work*
work make-PAST-1.PL-PIV *kind*

henaga hoya- viti' eli- s- u- pa' yana
later garden-EL *take*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV *taro*
the taro which we shall take later from the garden

The dependent clauses occurring in the descriptive slot of the phrase, may also be expanded to clause chains, e.g.:

ega o- na | hagita eli- lo- na | gavu
yesterday come-3.SG *knife take*-CPL-3.SG *grass*
halaga hu-d- i- ma' bade *the boy who came yesterday, took*
cut- PAST-3.SG-PIV *boy a knife and cut the grass.....*

havu-loti' fae- d- a- ga-pi | fili-te' yale
bow- INST *them-shoot*-PAST-3.PL-NI-*they* *die-* QD *people*
the people who died when they shot them with the bow

Examples of these phrases occurring in different clause slots:
Subject:

olega o- d- i- ma' de- ma' *the man who came two days*
two days ago come-PAST-3.SG-PIV *man*-PIV *ago* subj

agaea ana eli- te' a- ba' *the woman he takes/took* subj
he *woman take*-QD *woman*-PIV

eli- na dupu hu-na la-to- te' de- ma'
take-3.SG *gather-* 3.SG *us-put*-QD *man*-PIV
the man who gathers/gathered us together subj

eli- da dupu hu-da lapa- te- s- u- ma' de- ma- da
take-1.SG *gather-* 1.SG *you* pl-*put*-IFUT-1.SG-PIV *man*-PIV-*I*
I, the man who shall gather you pl *together* subj

Locational:

eve do- d- u- pa' guma- to' *at the village where we ate*
sugarcane eat-PAST-1.PL-PIV *village*-AD *the sugarcane*

Temporal:

a'i ge da-hapei-d- a- pa' gana-vi' *at the time when you had*
that word me-tell- PAST-2.SG-PIV *time*-IN *told me that*

go' a'- ei-g- i- ma' yege-lo' *on a day when it will not rain*
NEG- FUT-3.SG-PIV *sun-* AD
rain-

Instrumental:

bina fei-d- i- ma' hagita-loti' *with the knife he had bought*
buy- PAST-3.SG-PIV *knife-* INST

Benefactive:

hemeti yo' gi- ta su ho- d- u- pa' yo- se'
today *house build*-1.PL *finish*-PAST-1.PL-PIV *house*-BEN
for the house which we finished building today

Non-verbal predicate:

hoya- viti' bao- d- u- ma' yana-e' *(it is) the taro I picked*
garden-EL *pick*-PAST-1.SG-PIV *taro*-EQ *from the garden*

3.1.1.14 Substantive

The substantive modifying slot which precedes the head slot, is usually occupied by a noun. In some instances it is somewhat arbitrary to decide whether two nouns conjoined in this way, are a phrase, or constitute a single word. This question has been in most instances decided on the basis of phonological evidence: If two conjoining nouns have only one main stress, they are regarded as compound words, and are spelled as one word, e.g. nikona *water tube*. If each word retains its own main stress, they are regarded as a phrase.
Examples (Note: Class 1 nouns, when occurring as modifiers, occur in their short form):

yava' gina	*cave*
stone opening	
bade yuva	*a group of boys*
boy group	
yava laga	*tree-fruit*
tree fruit	
agamo' laga	*testicle*
scrotum fruit	
lugo' gaveda	*throat*
neck rope	
yo' mupa	*house-roof*
house roof	
avetatapa aolegeva	*beard*
chin hair	
yao gavu	*timber-thicket*
forest bush	
yabe igopa	*forest land*
forest area land	
yo' aepa	*village inhabitant*
house origin	
igopa aepa	*land-owner*
land origin	

The modifier slot in such phrases can also be occupied by proper names:

Goloka gumana — *the town of Goroka*
Goroka village

Move yale — *the Move people*
Move people

Huva ana — *a woman of Lufa*
Lufa woman

With people, the words de (for a man), ana (for a woman), and yale (for a plurality of people) occupy the head slot of such a phrase, whereas some other noun or noun phrase substantiates their status, or profession.
Examples:

tikisa de — *male teacher*
teacher man

tikisa ana — *female teacher*
teacher woman

tikisa yale — *teachers*
teacher people

meba de — *member (of the House of Assembly)*
member man

nalisa' de — *sorcerer*
sorcery man

nalisa' yale — *sorcerers*
sorcery people

dota de — *doctor, aid post orderly*
physician man

The substantive slot may also be occupied by a modified phrase consisting of a nominal head and a substantive modifier:

yo' aepa de — *inhabitant of the house or village*
house origin man

igopa aepa yale — *the land-owners*
land origin people

It occurs also that a proper name or kinship term occupies the head slot, and is modified by the noun de (mainly for men, but occasionally also for females) when such a phrase is used as vocative (cf. 2.1.2.8):

de Hane *Hane!*
man Hane

de avo *father!*
man father

Finally, for the description of plants and animals quite often phrases are used in which the head slot is occupied by a generic term, and the substantive modifier slot by the proper name of the plant or animal. Especially introduced animals are classified in that way:

bulimaka' gayale *cow*
cow pig

meme gayale *goat*
goat pig

hosi gayale *horse*
horse pig

pato gokolena *duck*
duck chicken

Trees are also classified in that way:

gemi' yava *a* kemina *tree,* kemina *timber*
kemina *tree*

beni yava *a hoop pine tree*
hoop pine tree

With some other generic terms, it is observed that the order of slots is reversed, and the modifier follows the head:

yaga genina *species of tree kangaroo*
animal kenina

ha fusu fusu *mushrooms (growing on tree stumps)*
mushroom fusu

Examples for the substantive modified phrase occurring in different clause slots:
Subject:

nalisa' de- ma' *the sorcerer* subj
sorcery man-PIV

Locational:

yava' gi- pi' *in the cave*
stone opening-IN

Temporal:

go' gana-vi' *in the wet season*
rain time-IN

Instrumental:

lu' heiya- loti' *with the axe-handle*
axe handle-INST

Benefactive:

yo' aepa yale- 'i- se' *for the inhabitants of the village*
house origin people-REL-BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

yava laga- vie *(is it) a tree-fruit?*
tree fruit-INT

3.1.1.15 Quantifier

The quantifier slot preferably, but not always, follows the head slot (exceptions are introduced Pidgin number words, cf. note in 3.1.7, and affixed phrases, cf. below). It is occupied by a numeral or numeral phrase (most of the original numerals are phrases, cf. 2.1.7), or by an adjective expressing quantity.
Examples:

ve bogo *one man, another man*
man one

ve bogo-ko' *one man*
man one- RE

yale bogo *some people*
people one

ba lole *two sweet potatoes*
sweet potato two

ba lole-ko' *two sweet potatoes*
sweet potato two- RE

ege lole-'e' bogo-'e' *three bananas*
banana two- COM *one-* COM

yava d- anita bogo-ko' *five trees*
tree my-hand one- RE

bade sole'na *many boys*
boy plenty

igopa sole'na *much land*
land plenty

bade havana'a *few boys*
boy little

When the phrase is affixed, quite often the quantifier may precede the head. Examples for occurrence of the phrase in different clause slots:

Subject:

ve bogo-ma' or bogo ve- ka-ma' *one man* subj
man one- PIV *one man-*SG-PIV

ve bogo-ko-ba' or bogo-ko' ve- ka-ma' *one single man* subj
man one- RE-PIV *one-* RE *man-*SG-PIV

bade sole'na-magi *many boys* subj
boy plenty- PL

Locational:

guma' lole-ko-to' or lole-ko' guma- to' *at just two villages*
village two- RE-AD *two-* RE *village-*AD

Temporal:

gavu bogo-vi' or bogo gavu-vi' *in another year*
year one- IN *one year-*IN

Instrumental:

hali bogo-ko-toti' or bogo-ko' hali- loti' *with just one arrow*
arrow one- RE-INST *one-* RE *arrow-*INST

Benefactive:

abade bogo-ko-se' or bogo-ko' abade-lose' *for the one girl*
girl one- RE-BEN *one-* RE *girl-* BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

yo' bogo-ko'-na- e' or bogo-ko' yona- e' *(it is) just one house*
house one- RE- COMP-EQ *one-* RE *house-*EQ

3.1.1.16 Qualifier

The qualifier slot which follows the head slot, is usually occupied by adjectives, but always in their predicative form. The occurrence of this type of phrase is rather restricted, it occurs mainly in non-verbal predicate slots, in object slots, and subject slots of intransitive and non-verbal clauses.
Examples:

laga eise'na *small fruit*
fruit small

ege hagana *tasty banana*
banana tasty

The restrictive marker in its allomorphic form -'ago' (cf. 2.1.3.13) occurs with this type of phrase:

yo' sokona-'ago' *a very good house*
house good- RE

Only when this phrase occurs in non-verbal predicates, it carries additional suffixation:

ege hagana-e' *(it is) a tasty banana*
banana tasty- EQ

ege hagana-vie *(is it) a tasty banana?*
banana tasty- INT

3.1.1.17 Combination

All the basic type phrases described in the preceding sections, may be expanded and combined into complex modified noun phrases which may with the appropriate suffixation, occupy slots as described. It will be observed, however, that demonstrative and possessive slot cannot be occupied at the same time. A demonstrative preceding a possessive expression, is a modifier in a phrase which then in turn occupies the possessive slot of the phrase:

a'i de- ma' eigava soko yo' lole
*that man-*PIV *new* *good house two*
DEM H
└ POSS ──┘ └── DES ──┘└ H ┘└QUAN┘
that man's two new nice houses

a'i lopa de- ma' eigava soko yo' lole
that old man-PIV *new good house two*
DEM DES H
└── POSS ──┘ └─ DES ─┘ └ H ┘ ‹QUAN›
that old man's two new nice houses

Other examples:

DES + H + QUAN:

gabe igopa sole'na *much uninhabited land*
uninhabited land plenty

POSS + DES + H:

yale- 'i' soko yona *the people's good house*
people-REL *good house*

DEM + SUB + H:

ma'i yava' gi- pi' *in this cave*
this stone opening-IN

POSS + SUB + H + QUAL:

gagae' yava laga eise'na *your small tree fruit*
your tree fruit small

DEM + DES + H + QUAN:

ma'i ougegesa yo- tipi lole-'e' bogo-'e' *these your* pl *three big*
this big house-your pl *two*- COM *one*- COM *houses*

DES + H + QUAN:

ega e- d- a'- ama' ve lole *the two men who came yesterday*
yesterday come-PAST-3.DL-PIV *man two*

3.1.1.2 *Focused phrase*

Focused phrases have two slots which can both be regarded as head slots. The first is usually occupied by a noun or noun phrase, the second one by a pronoun which puts the noun or noun phrase into focus somewhat in the same way as the pivotal marker does. Focused phrases occur mainly in subject slots of clauses, occasionally in object slots, and also in locational, benefactive, and non-verbal predicate slots.

A special form of the focused phrase is the repetition of an emphatic pronoun, whereby both slots are occupied by a pronoun:

lagae-ti lagae-ti *we amongst ourselves*
we- ourselves we- ourselves

This special kind of focused phrase usually occurs in the subject slot of a clause expressing reciprocity or reflexivity. (cf. also 2.3.4.4) Examples of focused phrases:

soko de agaea *the good man*
good man he

Goloka-lo' i- d- a- ma' yale pagaea *the people who went to*
Goroka-AD *go*-PAST-3.PL-PIV *people they* *Goroka*

Locational:

nalisa' de agae-togati' *from the sorcerer*
sorcery man he- AB

Benefactive:

fili-te' yale pagae-se' *for the dead people*
die- QD *people they-* BEN

Non-verbal predicate:

ega eve l- ami- d- i- ma' de agaea-e'
yesterday sugarcane us-give-PAST-3.SG-PIV *man he-* EQ
(it is) the man who yesterday gave us sugarcane

3.1.1.3 Axis-Relater phrases

Axis-relater phrases have two slots. The axis slot, which precedes, may be occupied by a noun, a noun phrase, a noun-like word, or by a dependent clause. The relater slot is occupied by a "post-position" type of word, which may have locational or temporal character, or may be an adjective-like word. The axis-relater phrases are described as locational, temporal, and comparison phrases.

3.1.1.31 Locational

The axis slot is occupied by a noun, noun phrase, or noun-like word. The relater slot is occupied by a locational word. Some of those locational words may be analyzed further, as they are fused forms of other phrase types, e.g.

hitagipi' *underneath* < hita + gina + pi' , or
bed *opening* IN

agovetulo' *on top of*	<	agovetu	+	lo'
		top		AD

Other words cannot be analyzed further, they all, however, carry some kind of a locational morpheme, e.g.
lupenaga *underneath,* and yu'inaga *inside*

These phrases occur in locational slots in clauses, or in descriptive slots in phrases as described in 3.1.1.13.2.
Examples:

yo' hitagipi'	*under the house*
house underneath	(of a house built on stilts)
yava geva hitagipi'	*under the tree trunk*
tree trunk underneath	
yava' lupenaga	*under the stone*
stone underneath	
yo' gametulo'	*on the house*
house on top	
yo' gametuvavalo'	*above the house*
house above	
hosi agovetulo'	*on the horse*
horse on top	
a'i agovetulo'	*on top of that*
that on top	
yo' yu'inaga	*inside the house*
house inside	
gegita yu'inaga	*inside the fence*
fence inside	

The phrases may be expanded by the ablative morpheme -ti':

yo' yu'inagati'	*from inside the house*
yava' lupenagati'	*from underneath the stone*

3.1.1.32 Temporal

The axis slot is occupied by a temporal word or a noun with temporal meaning, the relater slot by a word which defines the temporal expression more precisely. The relater may be expanded by the intensifier legi' *very, really, truly.* These phrases occur in temporal slots in clauses.

Examples:

ega dete' *yesterday / tomorrow morning*
one day from now in the morning

hemeti dete' legi' *very early this morning*
today in the morning very

hemeti ute' *this afternoon*
today in the afternoon

olega hani'inaga *two nights ago / two nights hence*
two days from now in the night

hani' fologu' *in the middle of the night, at midnight*
night in midst

3.1.1.33 Comparison

The axis slot is occupied by a noun, noun phrase or noun-like word, or by a dependent clause. The relater slot is occupied either by a noun with a locative marker, e.g.

vame- to' or mepe- to' ,
likeness-AD *comparison*-AD

or by the adjective-like word gata' *as if, like* (cf. 2.1.3.11).

The phrases which have gata' as relater, occur in the modifier slot in verb phrases, and in the predicate slot in non-verbal clauses. Occurring as modifiers, they carry no additional suffixation; occurring as predicates, gata' occurs in its predicative form, and an equation, negative, or interrogative marker is suffixed. The axis, if it is a noun, noun phrase, or noun-like word, is usually connected to the relater by the suffix -ga / -ya (cf. 2.1.3.11 and 2.2.3). If the axis slot is occupied by a clause, the verb in that clause ends in -gese'.

agae-'a- ga gata' *like himself*
he- himself-ga *like*

laisi-ya gata'na-e' *(it is) like rice*
rice- ya *like*- EQ

agae' ougota-ga gata'-nope *(it is) not like his image*
his face- ga *like*- NEG

agaea yo- pi' bei-d- i- gese' gata'
he house-IN *sit*-PAST-3.SG-gese' *like*
as if he was in the house

The phrases which have locational words as relaters, occur mainly on modifier slots in verb phrases. The axis is quite often, and always if it is occupied by a clause, suffixed with the pivotal marker. Examples:

agae' vame- to' *like him*
his likeness-AD

a'i mepe- to' *like that*
that comparison-AD

yo- ba' vame- to' *like a house*
house-PIV *likeness*-AD

gagaea ge hapei-d- a- pa' vame- to' *as you had told him*
you word tell- PAST-2.SG-PIV *likeness*-AD

3.1.1.4 *Serial (coordinate) phrases*

These phrases, mainly enumerations, consist of two or more heads. They may be just chained together without any conjunctional morphemes:

bade abade *boys and girls*
boy girl

hamu nama *little animals and birds*
rat bird

hamu yaga *small and large animals*
rat animal

i-pa- la e-pa- va bo-pa- va *their parents and tutors*
-their- *-their-* *-their-*
mother *father* *tutor*

They may also be chained together by the conjunctional morphemes -'e', -'ese', -gi, -vi / -pi :

lole-'e' bogo-'e' *three*
two- COM *one-* COM

Veyamo-'ese' avo- 'a- ma- 'e' ita- 'a- ma- 'e'
Veyamo-COM *father-his*-PIV-COM *mother-his*-PIV-COM
Veyamo and his parents

halitipa-'ese' hagita-'e' *firewood and a knife*
firewood- COM *knife-* COM

e-pa- va-gi bo-pa- va-gi *their fathers and tutors*
-their- COM *-their-* COM
father- *tutor*

dagae-di- vi yale- di-'ese' *I myself, and my people*
I- *myself*-INTC *people-my*-COM

Repetition of a noun carrying a conjunctional or locational morpheme, results in a coordinate phrase expressing ubiquity:

yo- 'e' yo- 'e' *at all places*
house-COM *house*-COM

igopa-'e' igopa-'e' *in all lands*
land- COM *land-* COM

yege-'e' yege-'e' *every day*
sun- COM *sun-* COM

yo- to' yo- to' *at all places*
house-AD *house*-AD

Serial noun phrases may, with the respective suffixation, occur in any slot of clauses or phrases which may be filled by modified noun phrases.

3.1.2 Verb phrases

The basic problem for the definition and description of verb "phrases" is posed by the fact that verbs never occur in a "neutral" form, but always with affixes which determine their occurrence and function in a clause. Therefore, and since the predicate is the only obligatory slot in a clause, every verb phrase described (in fact, every verb), is already potentially a clause.

Some of the constructions occurring with verbs, however, are such that they can better be described on phrase level rather than on clause level. For that reason, the concept of "verb phrases" is introduced here, though most if not all of the constructions described, will have, because of the verb form, the appearance of clauses.

There are two types of verb phrases: Modified verb phrases with a modifier slot and a head slot, and close-knit verb phrases, with two or more head slots.

Verb phrases occur in predicate slots in clauses. The form which the verb itself takes (either final, or else medial or otherwise dependent) determines the occurrence of the phrase in independent or dependent clauses.

Verb phrases in which the verb carries the pivotal marker plus a locational suffix, may also occur in locational slots of clauses. A few examples may illustrate this:

bogo'e' do- d- u- pa- to' *at the place where we ate again*
again *eat*-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AD

ago' gamao- d- i- ma- toti' *from the place where he had*
already *recover*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AB *already recovered*

soko hi-da bei- s- a- ma- toti' *from the place where they will*
good *do*-3.PL *live*-IFUT-3.PL-PIV-AB *live well*

emi- da o- d- u- ma- to' *at the place where I came down*
down-1.SG *come*-PAST-1.SG-PIV-AD

3.1.2.1 *Modified verb phrases*

Modified verb phrases have two slots, with the head slot following the modifier slot. The head slot is occupied by a verb, i.e. its stem and affixes[42]. The modifier slot is occupied by an adverb or an "adverbial" phrase. Adverbs or phrases can either stand on their own, or may be linked to the verb by a medial, subject-identical form of the auxiliary verb hu- which then becomes part of the adverbial phrase occupying the modifier slot. Constructions without hu-, and constructions with hu-, will be described separately in the following sections.

3.1.2.11 Without auxiliary verb

Most of the "true" adverbs (cf. 2.2.2) which never occur as adjectives, may occupy the modifier slot on their own.
Examples:

ago' fili-d- i- e *he has died already*
already *die-* PAST-3.SG-IND

belege u- o *go quickly!*
quickly *go*-IM SG

hava'a no'- e *he is coming just without reason*
without reason PROG-*come* 3.SG IND

bogo'e' no'- o- e *I am coming again*
again PROG-*come* 1.SG-IND

hae eli- d- a- e *they took (it) immediately*
immediately take-PAST-3.PL-IND

It may happen that the two slots of a verb phrase are separated by other parts of a clause inserted in between them, as shown in the following clause:

dagaea gesi' hoya- viti' gile' eli- d- u- e
I *secretly garden*-EL *corn take*-PAST-1.SG-IND
I took corn secretly from the garden

Phrases occurring in the modifier slot, are either modified noun phrases with the noun gavana *measure, kind* occupying the head slot, or they are axis-relater (comparison) phrases.
Examples:

a'i gava' elemi- d- i- e *he went down like that*
that kind *go down*-PAST-3.SG-IND

a'i gava-ko' elemi- d- i- e *he went down just like that*
that kind-RE *go down*-PAST-3.SG-IND

heipa' gava' elemi- d- i- e *how did he go down?*
which kind *go down*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Note: The above three phrases may also occur with the auxiliary verb hu-.

agaea p- oulega-lo' bei-d- i- gese' gata' age-d- a- e
he *their-eye-* AD *sit*-PAST-3.SG-gese' *like* *see*-PAST-3.PL-IND
they saw him as if he was sitting before them

gagaea hapei -d- a- pa' vame- to' da-hapei-d- i- e
you *tell-* PAST-2.SG-PIV *likeness*-AD *me-tell-* PAST-3.SG-IND
he told me as you had told him

3.1.2.12 With auxiliary verb

Very frequently, the auxiliary verb hu- in subject-identical medial form matching the subject of the verb occupying the head slot, is part of the phrase occupying the modifier slot. This construction with hu- can be regarded as obligatory for adverbs which are formally the same as adjectives, and become adverbs only through this phrasing with hu-.

soko hu-na eli- d- i- e *he made it well*
good do-3.SG *take*-PAST-3.SG-IND

legepa hu-na havi- g- i- e *he will understand perfectly*
perfect do-3.SG *understand*-FUT-3.SG-IND

This kind of modified verb phrase in which the head follows the modifier, may be transformed into another one where the head, assuming medial form, precedes the modifier, but the meaning of the phrase remains the same. The two phrases above may be transformed into the following two:

eli- na soko hu-d- i- e *he made it well*
take-3.SG *good do* PAST-3.SG-IND

havi- na legepa hu-g- i- e *he will understand perfectly*
understand 3.SG *perfectly do*-FUT-3.SG-IND

Words or phrases with the benefactive marker may also, together with hu-, form an adverbial phrase which may occupy the modifier slot:

dagae-se' hu-na eli- d- i- e *he took it for my sake*
I- BEN *do*-3.SG *take*-PAST-3.SG-IND

game' yale- 'i- se' hi-da p- oune he-d- a- e
fight people-REL-BEN *do*-3.PL *they-flee-* PAST-3.PL-IND
they fled because of the enemies

Also, some of the phrases described in the previous section, may be expanded into phrases with hu- :

a'i gava' hu-na elemi- d- i- e *he went down like that*
that kind do-3.SG *go down*-PAST-3.SG-IND

a'i gava-ko' hu-na elemi- d- i- e *he went down just like that*
that kind-RE *do*-3.SG *go down*-PAST-3.SG-IND

heipa' gava' hu-na elemi- d- i- e *how did he go down?*
which kind do-3.SG *go down*-PAST-3.SG-IND

The following phrases are also constructions with gava' and the auxiliary verb:

lugava' hu-na no- d- e *he eats very much*
very much do-3.SG PROG-*eat*-3.SG IND

lusi gava' hu-na no- d- e *he eats very much*
huge kind do-3.SG PROG-*eat*-3.SG IND

da'ouva gava' hu-na eli- d- i- e *why did he take it?*
how kind do-3.SG *take*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Loopbacks from clause level occur when dependent clauses occur within "adverbial phrases" in the modifier slot:

bogo vita' hoya eli- d- u- pa' gava' hu-ta eli- g- un- e
one time work make-PAST-1.PL-PIV *kind do*-1.PL *make*-FUT-1.PL-IND
we shall do the work the way we did it at another time

3.1.2.2 *Close-knit verb phrases*

Close-knit verb phrases have two or more head slots, each one occupied by a verb of which all but the last have to occur in medial subject-identical form. They have been described already in the morphology as verb-verb compounds (cf. 2.3.5.2).

Since every verb in the phrase has to have its inflection affixes, these verbs may by their morphology appear to be constituting each one a separate clause. However, despite that morphological evidence, those verb sequences constitute semantic units, and have therefore to be regarded as phrases.

One feature which gives evidence to the correctness of such description, is the negation pattern of the close-knit phrases:

Whereas in a sentence each verb constituting a clause, has to be negated individually, as is shown in the following:

pasi a'- ago-lo- na leka'- a- pei-na a'- u- d- i- e
letter NEG-*see*-CPL-3.SG -NEG- 3.SG NEG-*go*-PAST-3.SG-IND
read-
he did not see the letter, did not read it, and did not go ,

a close-knit verb phrase needs only one negative morpheme to negate the whole phrase. Preferably, but not always, the last verb in the phrase carries the negative marker:

eli- na folo' ei-na a- pa- to- d- i- e *he did not find*
make-3.SG *appear*- 3.SG NEG-*them*-*put*-PAST-3.SG-IND *them*

hei- na a'- o- d- i- e *he did not come up*
go up-3.SG NEG-*come*-PAST-3.SG-IND

eli- na a'- u- d- i- e *he did not carry it away*
take-3.SG NEG-*go*-PAST-3.SG-IND

a'- eli- na u- d- i- e *he did not carry it away*
NEG-*take*-3.SG *go*-PAST-3.SG-IND

Simultaneous actions are sometimes described by one verb plus the verb **bei-** *to live* (for animates) or **hano-** *to exist* (for inanimates). Such conjoining verbs also form a close-knit verb phrase.

havi-da bei- s- u- ga-ni *while I shall be hearing, he...*
hear-1.SG *live*-IFUT-1.SG-NI-*he*

heti- na han- e- ga-ta *while it (e.g. tree) was standing up,*
stand up-3.SG *exist*-3.SG-NI-*we* *we...*

Modified and close-knit verb phrases may be combined:

hae hei- ta o- d- un- e *we came up immediately*
immediately go up-1.PL *come*-PAST-1.PL-IND

vese hi-da eli- da i- s- a- e *they shall carry it away*
carefully do-3.PL *take*-3.PL *go*-IFUT-3.PL-IND *carefully*

A special kind of close-knit verb phrase is formed by repetition of a medial verb form. That close-knit phrase then in turn occupies the modifier slot of a modified verb phrase to express reciprocity:

lagae-ti lagae-ti habao-ta habao-ta hu-ta bei- d- un- e
we- ourselves we- our- help- 1.PL *help-* 1.PL *do*-1.PL *live*-PAST-1.PL-IND
selves ⌞close-knit v.p.⌟
⌞_____ modified verb phrase _____⌟
we are helping each other

3.2 *CLAUSES*

In Yagaria, a clause is a construction which consists of or includes one and only one predicate. Clauses occupy, typically, but not always, slots on sentence level. (As described in the Phrase Section, there is embedding of clauses into phrases, and there is also embedding of clauses into clauses.)

Clauses contrast as independent and dependent clauses, and within these two groups as verbal and non-verbal (or equational) clauses. Verbal clauses contrast as transitive and intransitive. The contrast is shown in the matrix below:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">independent</td><td colspan="3">dependent</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">verbal</td><td rowspan="2">non-verbal</td><td colspan="2">verbal</td><td rowspan="2">non-verbal</td></tr>
<tr><td>transitive</td><td>intransitive</td><td>transitive</td><td>intransitive</td></tr>
</table>

Generally, the structure of independent and dependent clauses parallels each other. It is mainly by the structure of the predicate and/or the occurrence of a clause whether it is independent or dependent.

All verbal clauses may be negated by the negative morpheme a'- prefixed to the verb.

Transitive clauses differ from intransitive clauses in that the head slot of the verb phrase filling the predicate slot, is occupied by transitive verbs (as described under 2.3.4), and that transitive clauses have potentially an object slot. (Some have potential for two free form objects: direct and indirect). Otherwise there is the same construction for both types of verbal clauses. In the following description, transitive and intransitive clauses will therefore not be treated in separate sections, but always together as "verbal clauses". Examples for both will however be given in every section.

Note: "Impersonal" clauses (cf. Morphology 2.3.4.3) show the same characteristics as transitive clauses, and will not be dealt with specifically. "Reciprocal" actions do not show any characteristic clause structure, for them, cf. 2.3.4.4 and 3.3.1.2.

Non-verbal clauses will be dealt with in separate sections.

3.2.1 Independent clauses

Independent clauses occupy the main slot of sentences, in the case of verbal clauses, that slot could also be termed the "final slot".

3.2.1.1 *Verbal Clauses*

The only obligatory slot in all clauses is the predicate slot. The canonical order of the main slots is subject-object-predicate.

Other slots occurring are temporal, locational, instrumental and benefactive slot. If bitransitive verbs occur in the predicate, the clause may have a second object slot which could be termed indirect object slot.

The order of the slots is not a rigidly fixed one, but the preferred order is:

± TEMP ± LOC ± SUBJ ± INST ± BEN ± IOBJ ± OBJ + PRED

The different slots may be occupied by the following:

Temporal slot:	by a temporal word or phrase, by a noun or noun phrase carrying a locational marker, by a dependent clause carrying a locational marker,
Locational slot:	by a locational word or phrase, by a noun or noun phrase carrying a locational marker, by a pronoun (animate) carrying a locational marker, by a dependent clause carrying a locational marker,
Subject slot:	by a noun or noun phrase, by a noun or noun phrase carrying the pivotal marker or the dual or plural markers, by a focused phrase, by a pronoun,
Instrumental slot:	by a noun or noun phrase carrying the instrumental marker,
Benefactive slot:	by a noun or noun phrase carrying the benefactive marker, by a pronoun carrying the benefactive marker,
Indirect object slot:	by a noun or noun phrase, occasionally a focused phrase, by a pronoun,
Object slot:	by a noun or noun phrase, occasionally a focused phrase, by a pronoun, by a dependent (nominalized) clause, (by a quote clause),

Predicate slot: by a verb or verb phrase.

The verb in the predicate of independent clauses always occurs in "final" form: Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Emphatic, or Irreal Conditional-final. Consequently the Common Greeting forms usually fall into this category. Some of these are given in section 2.3.2.43.

3.2.1.11 Indicative

The verb in the predicate slot can occur in the various tenses in the indicative mood.

Examples:

```
    PRED
bei- g-  an-  e      you will live
live-FUT-2.SG-IND

     PRED
a-  fili-g-  a'-  e      you dl will not die
NEG-die- FUT-2.DL-IND

 SUBJ   |      PRED
dagaea  |  u- d-   u-   e       I went
I       |  go-PAST-1.SG-IND

        SUBJ                  |      PRED
gabe        igopa sole'na     |  hano- d-   i-   e
uninhabited land  plenty      |  exist-PAST-3.SG-IND
       there is much uninhabited land

            SUBJ                  |          PRED
ge   no-  s-  u-   ma' ge-  ma'   |  loki vei-     g-  i-   e
word PROG-say-1.SG-PIV word-PIV   |  become strong-FUT-3.SG-IND
        the word which I speak, will come true

  BEN        |    PRED
dagae-se'    |  amota ei- d-   i-   e      he was afraid of me
I-    BEN    |  be afraid-PAST-3.SG-IND

              BEN                          |   PRED
a'i  dote'na do- lo- ta   fili-te'na-e'    | a-  de- s-   un-  e
that food    eat-CPL-1.PL die- GN-   BEN   | NEG-eat-IFUT-1.PL-IND
as after eating that food we might die, we shall not eat it
```

LOC	PRED
yale b- ei- ma- to'	u- g- un- e
people live-3.PL-PIV-AD	*go*-FUT-1.PL-IND

we shall go to where the people are

TEMP	OBJ	PRED
gei- 'a hago- d- i- ma- toti'	eve	do- d- i- e
sickness-his recover-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AB	*sugarcane*	*eat*-PAST-3.SG-IND

from the time on when he recovered from his sickness, he ate sugarcane

TEMP	LOC	PRED	
ega	vatoga	u- g- un- e	*tomorrow we shall go somewhere*
tomorrow	*elsewhere*	*go*-FUT-1.PL-IND	*else*

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
ve- ma'	gala	begi-d- i- e	*the man hit the dog*
man-PIV	*dog*	*beat*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

OBJ	PRED
bade-ma' gokole' gumina eli-d- i- ma'	ago-d- u- e
boy- PIV *chicken steal*- PAST-3.SG-PIV	*see*-PAST-1.SG-IND

I saw which boy stole the chicken

IOBJ	OBJ	PRED
bade yuva- ka	dote'na	p- ami- d- un- e
boy group-your	*food*	*them-give*-PAST-1.PL-IND

we gave food to your boys

OBJ	IOBJ	PRED
dote'na	bade yuva- ka	p- ami- d- un- e
food	*boy group-your*	*them-give*-PAST-1.PL-IND

we gave food to your boys

IOBJ	OBJ	PRED
yo' aepa yale	soko ge	fapei- d- i- e
house origin people	*good word*	*them tell*-PAST-3.SG-IND

he told the inhabitants of the village a nice talk

When the indirect object is to be stressed, it will be indicated in a special slot, though it is actually shown already in the predicate:

OBJ	IOBJ	PRED	
yava	dagaea	d- ami- d- i- e	*he gave the timber to me*
tree	*I*	*me-give*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

Quote clauses may be explained as occupying the object slot, compare the two following clauses with each other:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
gagaea	ge	no- s- an- e	*you are saying the word*
you	*word*	PROG-*say*-2.SG-IND	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED
gagaea	ma- lo' bei- g- u- e	no- s- an- e
you	*this*-AD *live*-FUT-1.SG-IND	PROG-*say*-2.SG-IND

you are saying: "I shall stay here"

(It is a better solution, however, to explain the occurrence of quote clauses on sentence level, cf. 3.3.1.3).

It hardly ever occurs that all slots of a clause are occupied simultaneously, as that would make a clause too clumsy. The following example is about the limit of what practically could be packed into one clause:

TEMP	LOC	SUBJ	
hemeti dete'	guma- to'	a'i de- ma' ougegesa bade-ma'	
today morning	*village*-AD	*that man*-PIV *big* *boy*- PIV	

INST	OBJ	PRED
gave- loti'	dagae' havana bade	begi-na legepa hu-d- i- e
stick-INST	*my* *little boy*	*beat* 3.SG *thoroughly* *do*-PAST-3.SG-IND

this morning on the village square the big boy of that man beat up my little boy terribly with a stick

3.2.1.12 Imperative

The verb in the predicate slot can occur in imperative form. If the verb occurs in first and third imperative form, the subject is obligatory.

(Note: Clauses with greeting imperative verb forms are listed in the Morphology Section under 2.3.2.43)

Examples:

PRED	
belege i- io	*go* pl *quickly!*
quickly *go*-IM PL	

LOC	PRED	
yo- pi'	hei- 'o	*go* dl *into the house!*
house-IN	*go up*-IM DL	

BEN	PRED	
hoya-e'	da-haba-o	*help me with the work!*
work-BEN	*me-help*-IM SG	

OBJ	PRED	
g- agana- ka	nuki- o	*embrace your little brother!*
your-little brother-your	*embrace*-IM SG	

OBJ	INST	PRED	
ema gayale	hali- loti'	ha- eo	*shoot* pl *that pig there*
that there pig	*arrow*-INST	*shoot*-IM PL	*with an arrow!*

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
bade yuva- magi	tikisa de- ma' ge	havi-no	*the students shall*
boy group-PL	*teacher man*-PIV *word*	*hear*-IM	*listen to the teacher!*

3.2.1.13 Interrogative

In yes-no questions the verb in the predicate slot occurs with the interrogative marker. In independent interrogative clauses, usually the real interrogative marker is suffixed, infrequently, however, the conditional interrogative marker may occur (cf. 2.3.2.42).

(Note: Clauses with greeting interrogative verb forms are listed in the Morphology Section under 2.3.2.43).

Examples:

TEMP	PRED	
ega dete'	i- s- a- pie	*shall you go tomorrow morning?*
tomorrow morning	*go*-IFUT-2.SG-INT	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
a'i de- ma'	gayale-di	hao- d- i- vie	*did that man shoot my*
that man-PIV	*pig- my*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-INT	*pig?*

Information questions have a different structure, as in them, an interrogative word, or a phrase with an interrogative adjective as modifier, occupies the slot which the question aims at.

Examples:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
nala'a-ma'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	*who shot the pig?*
who- PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
heipa' de- ma'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	*which man shot the pig?*
which man-PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
game' de- ma'	nala'a	hao- d- i- e	*whom did the enemy shoot?*
fight man-PIV	*who*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
game' de- ma'	heipa'de	hao- d- i- e	*which man did the enemy*
fight man-PIV	*which man*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	*whoot?*

LOC	OBJ	PRED	
heipa'a-lo'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	*where did he shoot the pig?*
which- AD	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

LOC	SUBJ	OBJ	PRED
heipa'hoya- vi'	ma'i de- ma'	dagae' gayale	hao- d- i- e
which garden-IN	*this man* PIV	*my pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND

in which garden did this man shoot my pig?

TEMP	OBJ	PRED	
da- kana-vi'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	*when did he shoot the*
which-time-IN	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	*pig?*

TEMP	OBJ	PRED	
heipa' gana-vi'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	*when did he shoot the*
which time-IN	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	*pig?*

OBJ	INST	PRED
gayale	da'- ouva- na- loti'	hao- d- i- e
pig	*which-likeness*-COMP-INST	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND

what did he shoot the pig with?

INST	OBJ	PRED	
heipa'havu-loti'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	*with which bow did he*
which bow- INST	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	*shoot the pig?*

BEN	PRED	
gayale-lose'	heipa'gava' hu-d- i- e	*what did he do to the pig?*
pig BEN	*which kind do*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

OBJ	PRED	
gayale	heipa'gava' hu-na hao- d- i- e	*how did he shoot the*
pig	*which kind do*-3.SG *shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	*pig?*

OBJ	PRED
gayale	da'- ouva gava' hu-na hao- d- i- e
pig	*which-likeness kind do*-3.SG *shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND

why did he shoot the pig?

3.2.1.14 Emphatic

Emphatic clauses are basically the same as indicative clauses, except for the verb in the predicate slot occurring in emphatic form. Examples:

LOC	PRED	
ma'i-lo'	bei- s- u- gi	*I shall definitely stay here!*
this-AD	*live*-IFUT-1.SG-EMPH	

TEMP	LOC	OBJ	PRED
hani'-inaga	hoya- di-vi'	gayale-ka	hao- d- i- gi
night-IN	*garden-my*-IN	*pig- your*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-EMPH

he definitely shot your pig in my garden at night!

3.2.1.15 Conditional final (see also 2.3.3.24.3)

Irreal conditional final verb forms may occur in the predicate of independent clauses. Usually such clauses occur as apodosis following an irreal conditional medial clause (protasis), and that kind of sequence may be glossed *if... then...* (cf. 3.2.2.13.3 and 3.3.1.2). Such independent conditional clauses may, however, infrequently occur in isolation. The subject slot is obligatory in such clauses, and the tense which is not expressed by the verb form, is determined by the context. Examples:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
lagaea	a'i ve- ka	hae- sine	*we would shoot that man*
we	*that man*-SG	*shoot*-IRF	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED
bade lole tagaea	gokole'	gumina eli-'ene hine
boy two they dl	*chicken*	*steal-* IRF

the two boys would steal the chicken

3.2.1.2 *Non-verbal clauses*

Non-verbal clauses may be positive or negative equational clauses, or interrogative clauses. There is no copula in Yagaria, the non-verbal predicate is marked by a suffix. Usually non-verbal clauses have only two slots, a subject and a predicate slot, of which only the predicate slot is obligatory.

Independent non-verbal clauses occupy the main slot of sentences, they may not be preceded, however, by any dependent verbal clauses.

3.2.1.21 Positive equational

The predicate slot is occupied by a noun or noun phrase, or an adjective in predicative form, suffixed with the equation marker -e'. Examples:

PRED	
hagana-e'	*it is tasty*
tasty- EQ	

SUBJ	PRED	
ma'i ege- mo	hagana-e'	*this banana is tasty*
*this banana-*CON	*tasty-* EQ	

SUBJ	PRED	
m- igopa	gagae' igopa-e'	*this land is yours*
this-land	*your land-* EQ	

SUBJ	PRED	
ma- yo- ba'	eigava yona- e'	*this house is new*
*this-house-*PIV	*new house-*EQ	

SUBJ	PRED	
a'i laga- mo	dote'na-e'	*that fruit is edible*
*that fruit-*CON	*food-* EQ	

The predicate may also occur without equation marker occasionally:

SUBJ	PRED	
a'i yava-ma' laga- 'a	hagana-'ago'	*the fruit of that tree is*
*that tree-*PIV *fruit-its*	*tasty-* RE	*very tasty*

SUBJ	PRED	
a'i de- ma' agi- 'a	Guvi	*the name of that man is Kuvi*
*that man-*PIV *name-his*	*Kuvi*	

SUBJ	PRED	
a'i de- ma' agi- 'a	Guvi-'a	*the name of that man is Kuvi*
*that man-*PIV *name-his*	*Kuvi-he*	

3.2.1.22 Negative equational

The predicate slot may be occupied by a noun or noun phrase, or an adjective in predicative form, suffixed with the negative marker -opa / -ope / -nope.

Examples:

SUBJ	PRED	
m- igopa	gagae' igopa-ope	*this land is not yours*
this-land	*your land-* NEG	

SUBJ	PRED						
ma- de- ma'	ega	o-	d-	i-	ma'	de-	opa
this-man-PIV	*yesterday come*-PAST-3.SG-PIV				*man*-NEG		

this man is not the one who came yesterday

The predicate may also be occupied by a nominalized-locative verb form suffixed with the negative marker:

SUBJ	PRED				
yava	hano- d-	i-	ma-	to-nope	*trees are not there*
tree	*exist*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AD-NEG				

A third construction for negative non-verbal clauses occurs with verb-derived adjectives or nouns occurring in the predicate. Such words can be negated with the verbal negative marker a'-, and the predicate then carries the equation marker as suffix:

SUBJ	PRED	
ma- yava laga- mo	a- dote'na-e'	*this tree-fruit is not edible*
this-tree fruit-CON	NEG-*food-* EQ	

3.2.1.23 Interrogative

The predicate slot is occupied by a noun or noun phrase, or an adjective in predicative form, suffixed with the interrogative marker. Usually the real interrogative marker occurs, but infrequently also the conditional interrogative marker may occur.
Examples:

SUBJ	PRED	
m- igopa	gagae' igopa-vie	*is this land yours?*
this-land	*your land-* INT	

SUBJ	PRED	
ma- yo- ba'	eigava yo- pie	*is this house a new one?*
this-house-PIV	*new house*-INT	

3.2.2 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses occupy marginal, i.e. non-final slots in sentences. Some types of dependent clauses, through embedding, occupy slots in phrases, and slots within other clauses.

3.2.2.1 *Verbal clauses*

The construction of dependent verbal clauses parallels that of the independent verbal clauses. As in those, the only obligatory slot is the predicate slot. All other slots may occur in the same preference of order as described in 3.2.1.1.

The difference between independent and dependent clauses is, besides their occurrence, the fact that the verb filling the head slot of the phrase which occupies the predicate slot, in dependent clauses can never be a "final" verb, but occurs in a medial or otherwise dependent form. Verb forms occurring in independent clauses, do not occur in dependent clauses, and vice versa.

3.2.2.11 Medial clauses

The verb in the predicate slot occurs in any of the medial verb forms described in the morphology section under 2.3.3.1. Because of the medial verb forms which refer not only to the subject of the present clause, but also to that of the following one, each medial clause is very closely linked with the clause following it. The medial clause is therefore the most obviously dependent clause in the language, and also the most frequently occurring clause type at large, especially in narratives.

Examples:

LOC	PRED	
ni- to'	u- na	*he goes/went to the water, and...*
water-AD	*go*-3.SG	

INST	OBJ	PRED	
hali- loti'	gayale	hao- lo- ka	*you shoot/shot the pig, and...*
arrow-INST	*pig*	*shoot*-CPL-2.SG	

LOC	PRED	
yo- to'	va'yu h-i- ga-da	*he arrives/arrived at the village,*
house-AD	*arrive*- 3.SG-NI-*I*	*and I...*

OBJ	PRED	
hali	ne- k- a- ga-ta	*while they are/were lighting the fire,*
fire	PROG-*light*-3.PL-NI-*we*	*we...*

PRED
fili-s- u- ga-tati *when I shall die, you* dl ...
die- IFUT-1.SG-NI-*you* dl

Medial clauses can be chained together in potentially unlimited number, with each preceding clause always depending on the following one. (In the following example, single lines separate slots within clauses, double lines separate clauses).

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	LOC
a' yuva pagaea	ba	gavi-da	guma- to'
woman group they	*sweet potato*	*dig-* 3.PL	*village*-AD

PRED	PRED	PRED
eli- da e- da	ta' ei-da	l- am- i- ga-ta
take-3.PL *come*-3.PL	*peel-* 3.PL	*us-give*-3.PL-NI-*we*

PRED	OBJ	PRED
emu gi- lo- ta	tupa-'a	do- lo- ta
cook in earth oven-CPL-1.PL	*part-its*	*eat*-CPL-1.PL

OBJ	PRED	
tupa-'a	lap- ami- s- un- aga-tapi	....
part-its	*you* pl-*give*-IFUT-1.PL-NI- *you* pl	

the women will dig out sweet potatoes and bring them to the village, peel them and give them to us, and we shall cook them in the earth oven, shall eat part of them, and give part of them to you pl, *and you* pl ...

3.2.2.12 Locational clauses

Clauses of this type have in their predicate a verb of the forms described in the morphology under 2.3.3.23.1. They occupy, through embedding, locational or temporal slots in clauses.

The clause

TEMP	OBJ	PRED
ega	dote'na	do- d- u- pa- to'
yesterday	*food*	*eat*-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AD

at the place where we ate the food yesterday

occupies the locational slot in the following clause:

LOC						TEMP
ega	dote'na	do-	d- u-	pa-	to'	hemeti
yesterday	*food*	*eat*-PAST-1.PL-PIV-AD				*today*

PRED
bogo'e' de- s- un- e
again *eat*-IFUT-1.PL-IND
at the place where we ate the food yesterday, we shall eat again today

Likewise, the clause

SUBJ		PRED				
gei-	'a	hago-	d-	i-	ma-	toti'
sickness-his		*be well*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AB				

from when he recovered from his sickness

occupies the temporal slot in the following clause:

TEMP							OBJ	PRED			
gei-	'a	hago-	d-	i-	ma-	toti'	eve	do-	d-	i-	e
sickness-his	*be well*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-AB						*sugarcane*	*eat*-PAST-3.SG-IND			

from the time on when he recovered from his sickness, he ate sugarcane

(for more examples, cf. 2.3.3.23.1)

3.2.2.13 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. The verb in their predicate slot occurs in one of the forms described in the morphology under 2.3.3.24.

3.2.2.13.1 Real conditional, or temporal clause (see also 2.3.3.24.1)

The verb in the predicate slot occurs with the suffixed pivotal marker and -to'. The tense of the verb has to correspond with the tense of the verb in the following clause if that is an independent clause, as is usually the case. If the following clause is also a dependent one, and not determined with regard to tense, then the tense of the verb in the real conditional, or temporal clause has to correspond with the tense of the verb in the next occurring independent clause in the chain. Examples:

LOC		PRED				
na-	lo'	va'yu	hu-d-	u-	pa-	to'
that-AD		*arrive-*	PAST-1.PL-PIV-RC			

when we arrived there...

TEMP	LOC	PRED
hemeti	Goloka-lo'	i- s- u- pa- to'
today	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-RC

when we shall go to Goroka today...

SUBJ	PRED
da-valu- di-magi	ne'- a- ma- to'
my-friend-my-PL	PROG-*come* 3.PL-PIV-RC

as my friends are coming...

3.2.2.13.2 Potential conditional clause (see also 2.3.3.24.2)

The verb in the predicate slot occurs with the suffixed pivotal marker and -bobo. The tense of the verb has to correspond with the tense of the verb in the next occurring independent clause in the chain, as described for the real conditional clause.
Examples:

LOC	PRED	
na- lo'	va'yu hi-d- a- ma- bobo	*in case they arrived there*
that-AD	*arrive*- PAST-3.PL-PIV-PC	

TEMP	LOC	PRED	
hemeti	Goloka-lo'	i- s- u- pa- bobo	*in case we shall go to*
today	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-PC	*Goroka today*

SUBJ	PRED	
da-valu- di-magi	ne'- a- ma- bobo	*in case my friends are*
my-friend-my-PL	PROG-*come* 3.PL-PIV-PC	*coming*

3.2.2.13.3 Irreal conditional clause (see also 2.3.3.24.3)

The verb in the predicate slot occurs with the suffixed pivotal marker and -tone hipana. This clause always occupies the marginal slot (protasis) in a counterfactual sentence, and is obligatorily followed by an irreal conditional-final independent clause (apodosis). The tense of the whole construction is determined by the verb of the dependent clause.
Examples:

LOC	PRED	
na- lo'	va'yu hi-d- a- ma- tone hipana	*if they would have*
that-AD	*arrive*- PAST-3.PL-PIV-IRM	*arrived there...*

TEMP	LOC	PRED
hemeti	Goloka-lo'	i- s- u- pa- tone hipana
today	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-IRM

if we would go to Goroka today...

SUBJ	PRED
da-valu- di-magi	ne'- a- ma- tone hipana
my-friend-my-PL	PROG-*come* 3.PL-PIV-IRM

if my friends would be coming...

3.2.2.14 Motivational clauses

Motivational clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. The verb in the predicate slot occurs suffixed with the pivotal marker and the motivational marker -bose' (cf. 2.3.3.23.2).
Examples:

SUBJ	PRED
gabe igopa sole'na	hano- d- i- ma- bose'
uninhabited land plenty	*exist*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT

because there is much uninhabited land...

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED
lagaea	hagita	g- afolo- d- u- pa- bose'
we	*knife*	*you-take away*-PAST-1.PL-PIV-MOT

because we took away the knife from you...

TEMP	LOC	PRED
gei bogo-vi'	ma- yo- to'	a- bei- s- a- ma- bose'
moon one- IN	*this-house*-AD	NEG-*live*-IFUT-3.PL-PIV-MOT

because in another month they will not be in this village

SUBJ	LOC	OBJ	PRED
gayale-ma'	hoya- 'a- vi'	emu	do- d- i- ma- bose'
pig- PIV	*garden-his*-IN	*ground*	*eat*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT

because the pig rooted up the ground in his garden

3.2.2.15 Nominalized clauses (cf. also morphology 2.3.3.23)

The verb in the predicate slot of these clauses carries the pivotal marker. Clauses of this kind mainly occur through embedding in phrases, filling the descriptive slot in modified noun phrases, or the axis slot in axis-relater phrases.

Nominalized clauses by themselves, especially when they are transitive, are often difficult to gloss, since their meaning becomes unambiguously evident only within a phrase.

e.g. the clause

OBJ	PRED
yo'	ne- k- i- ma'
house	PROG-*build*-3.PL-PIV

may be glossed as *they who are building the house* or as *the house they are building*, and only within a phrase it becomes clear what is meant:

MOD					H
yo'	ne-	k-	i-	ma'	yale
house	PROG-*build*-3.PL-PIV				*people*

the people who are building the house

MOD					H
yo'	ne-	k-	i-	ma'	yona
house	PROG-*build*-3.PL-PIV				*house*

the house they are building

Other examples:

OBJ		PRED		
game' yale		hae-	s- u-	pa'
fight people		*shoot*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV		

we who shall kill the enemies or *the enemies we shall kill*

TEMP		OBJ	PRED		
bogo vita'		hoya	eli-	d- u-	pa'
one time		*work*	*make*-PAST-1.PL-PIV		

we who did the work at another time or *the work we did at another time*

Intransitive clauses are somewhat less ambiguous:

LOC	PRED			
Huva-gayagati'	e-	d-	a-	ma'
Lufa-AB	*come*-PAST-3.PL-PIV			

they who came from Lufa

Another form of nominalized clause is that in which the verb carries the quality derivative marker -te' :

OBJ	PRED	
ge	havi-te'	*...who hear/heard the word*
word	*hear*-QD	

TEMP	PRED	
ega	fili-te'	...*who died yesterday*
yesterday	*die-* QD	

Also this type of clause can be unambiguously glossed only when occurring within a phrase:

MOD		H	
ge	havi-te'	bade	*the boy who heard the word*
word	*hear*-QD	*boy*	

MOD		H	
ega	fili-te'	yale	*the people who died yesterday*
yesterday	*die-* QD	*people*	

3.2.2.16 Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. The verb in the predicate slot of purposive clauses occurs usually, but not always, in the intentional future tense, and always carries a suffixed anticipation marker as described in the morphology under 2.3.3.25.
Examples:

OBJ		PRED	
gale	bogo	bina fei-s- u- pe'	*in order that we may buy a car...*
car	*one*	*buy-* IFUT-1.PL-ANT	

OBJ		INST	
game'	yale- ti	havu-loti'	
fight	*people-our*	*bow-* INST	

PRED

fao- ta gini pa- te- s- un- e- ge'
them shoot-1.PL *kill them-put*-IFUT-1.PL-IND-ANT
in order that we may shoot our enemies with bows...

TEMP	LOC	
ega	buga Filigano yale- 'i- togati'	
tomorrow	*over there Filigano people*-REL-AB	

OBJ		PRED	
ana	bogo	agavei-s- a- me'	
woman	*one*	*lead-* IFUT-3.PL-ANT	

in order that they may tomorrow bring a woman from over there from the Filigano people...

3.2.2.17 Referent Action Clauses

Clauses of this type contain a marker with the allomorphs **-ese'**, **-'ese'**, or **-gese'**. These verb forms are described in the morphology under 2.3.3.27.

Such clauses occur as follows:

Clauses with a medial verb form and suffixed **-ese'** / **-'ese'** occupy marginal slots in sentences, and have usually the same meaning and function as medial clauses:

PRED

ne'- a'- aga-ni-'ese-bo *while they* dl *are/were coming, he...*

PROG-*come* 3.DL-NI- *he*-'ese-CON

Clauses with **-gese'** suffixed to the verb stem or after a PN marker, have temporal or conditional meaning, and occupy marginal slots in sentences.

PRED

go' eli-gese' *while it was going to get light...*

get day-gese'

(cf. also examples under 2.3.3.27 and 3.3.1.2)

Such clauses may also occupy the axis slot in axis-relater phrases, cf. 3.1.1.33.

3.2.2.18 Interrogative

Dependent interrogative clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. They express either one out of a chain of questions, or else questions embedded in a larger linguistic structure.

In yes-no questions, the verb in the predicate slot occurs with the conditional interrogative marker.

Examples:

PRED

o- d- i- vi *did he come, or...?*

come-PAST-3.SG-INTC

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED
a'i de- ma'	**gayale**	**hao- d- i- vi**
that man-PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-INTC

did that man shoot the pig, or...?

Examples for the linking up of such dependent interrogative clauses with independent clauses are given under 3.3.1.2.

Dependent information questions are formed by interrogative words or interrogative phrases occupying the slot which the question aims at.

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
nala'a-ma'	gayale	hao- lo- na	*who shot the pig, and...?*
who- PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-CPL-3.SG	

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
heipa'de- ma'	gayale	hao- lo- na	*which man shot the pig, and...?*
which man-PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-CPL-3.SG	

LOC	OBJ	PRED	
heipa'a-lo'	gayale	hao- lo- na	*where did he shoot the pig,*
which- AD	*pig*	*shoot*-CPL-3.SG	*and...?*

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED
game' yale- magi	heipa've- ka	hae- le- da
fight people-PL	*which man*-SG	*shoot*-CPL-3.PL

which man did the enemies shoot, and...?

Purposive:

OBJ	PRED	
heipa'gale	bina fei-s- a- pe'	*in order that you may buy which*
which car	*buy-* IFUT-2.SG-PIV	*car...?*

Dependent information questions often carry, beside the interrogative word or interrogative phrase in the slot at which the question aims, the conditional interrogative marker suffixed to the verb in the predicate slot:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
heipa'de- ma'	gayale	hao- d- i- vi	*which man shot the pig...?*
which man- PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-INTC	

OBJ	PRED	
heipa'gayale	hao- d- i- vi	*which pig he shot...?*
which pig	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-INTC	

The above clauses may occupy the object slot in a transitive clause, e.g.:

OBJ			PRED
heipa'de- ma' gayale	hao- d- i- vi		a'- ago-d- un- e
which man-PIV *pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-INTC		NEG-*see*-PAST-1.PL-IND

we did not see which man shot the pig

OBJ					PRED				
heipa'gayale	hao-	d-	i-	vi	a'-	ago-d-	un-	e	
which pig	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-INTC				NEG-*see*-PAST-1.PL-IND				
we did not see which pig he shot									

Other interrogative constructions are described on sentence level, cf. 3.3.1.3 and 3.3.2.2.

3.2.2.2 *Non-verbal clauses*

Dependent non-verbal clauses occupy marginal slots in sentences. As their independent counterparts, they have usually only two slots, subject and predicate, and they may be positive or negative equational clauses, or interrogative clauses.

The dependent positive equational clause differs from its independent counterpart by not carrying the equation marker:
Examples:

SUBJ			PRED	
ma'i	ege-	mo	hagana...	*...that this banana is tasty*
this	*banana*-CON		*tasty*	

SUBJ		PRED	
m-	igopa	gagae igopa...	*...that this land is yours*
this-land		*your land*	

SUBJ			PRED	
a'i	laga-	mo	dote'na...	*...that that fruit is edible*
that	*fruit*-CON		*food*	

The dependent negative equational clause is formally the same as its independent counterpart, except if a verb-derived noun or adjective occurs in the predicate, and can be negated by a'-.
Examples:

SUBJ		PRED		
m-	igopa	gagae'	igopa-nope...	*...that this is not your land*
this-land		*your*	*land*- NEG	

SUBJ			PRED		
ma-	yava	laga- mo	a-	dote'na...	*...that this tree fruit is not*
this-tree	*fruit*-CON		NEG-*food*		*edible*

The dependent interrogative non-verbal clause differs from its independent counterpart by the predicate carrying the conditional interrogative marker instead of the real interrogative marker.

Examples:

SUBJ	PRED	
m- igopa	gagae' igopa-vi ...	...*whether this is your land...*
this-land	*your land-* INTC	

SUBJ	PRED	
a'i laga- mo	dote'na-vi ...	...*whether that fruit is edible...*
*that fruit-*CON	*food-* INTC	

A sub-form of the non-verbal dependent clause, not occurring very frequently, is a clause with a nominalized verb (carrying the goal-nominalizer -te'na) plus the benefactive marker. It occurs in benefactive slots of clauses (cf. 3.2.1.11).

SUBJ	PRED	
lagaea	fili-te'na-e' ...	...*for we would (could) die...*
we	*die-* GN BEN	

This clause may be expanded into a clause chain with preceding medial clauses:

vato' dote'na do- lo- ta fili-te'na-e' ...
*strange food eat-*CPL-1.PL *die-* GN- BEN
...for we could die after eating the strange food

3.3 *SENTENCES*

For the purpose of this grammar, a Yagaria sentence is defined as follows:
It is a complete utterance.
It is a linguistic construction which occurs above clause level, and is isolatable.
It shows special junctural features, as it consists typically, though not always, of clauses which are joined together.

A sentence is also an intonational unit. The intonational pitch rises towards the predicate of the main clause, and then falls, often quite abruptly, at the end of the predicate. Only the final intonation "fall" will be indicated in the following sections by an arrowhead ↓ to indicate the end of a sentence.

In longer sentences, the intonation pattern may at times be interrupted, and "auxiliary" falls may occur in the middle of the sentence.

3.3.1 Independent sentences

An independent sentence consists of or includes at least one independent clause, and is not linked by any construction feature to the sentence preceding it.

3.3.1.1 *Simple independent sentence*

A simple independent sentence consists of one independent clause, verbal or non-verbal, as described in 3.2.1, with the characteristics of the sentence intonation pattern:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	
bakisave-ma'	bade	hao- d- i- e ↓	*the snake bit the boy*
snake- PIV	*boy*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	

3.3.1.2 *Complex independent sentence*

A complex independent sentence consists of one, and only one, independent clause preceded by a potentially unlimited number of dependent clauses. (For the chaining of clauses, cf. also 3.2.2.11). Such chaining together of clauses into a complex sentence must not, however, be seen as subordination of clauses as in Indo-European languages, since the Yagaria dependent clauses are dependent by virtue of their form, or more precisely, the form of their predicate, not by virtue of attached subordinating words or phrases[43].

Each verb in a sentence, except when it belongs into a close-knit verb phrase and therefore is part of a semantic unit, has to be regarded as nucleus of a separate clause.

Examples of how different dependent and independent clauses are put together to form sentences, are given in the following. (Single lines separate slots within clauses, double lines separate clauses.)

Medial, identical subject + Indicative:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	OBJ	PRED	
a- ba'	hoya	eli- na	bage'	no- kal- i- e ↓	
woman-PIV	*garden*	*make*-3.SG	*sweet potato leaf*	PROG-*plant*-3.SG-IND	

the woman is working the garden, and is planting sweet potato leaves

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	OBJ
da-valu- di-ma'	dote'na	no- do- na	a'i age
*my-friend-my-*PIV	*food*	PROG-*eat*-3.SG	*that report*

PRED
da-hapei-d- i- e ↓
me-tell- PAST-3.SG-IND

while my friend was eating, he told me that news

OBJ	PRED	PRED
a'i gayale	hao- lo- ta	vakei- g- un- e ↓
that pig	*shoot*-CPL-1.PL	*butcher*-FUT-1.PL-IND

after shooting that pig, we shall butcher it

Medial, identical subject + Imperative:

LOC	PRED	PRED
bega- gayaga	i- ta	ni' fel-eo ↓
over there-AD	*go*-2.PL	*wash-* IM PL

go pl *over there, and wash* pl*!*

OBJ	PRED	OBJ	PRED
dote'na	no- do- ka	ge- di	havi-o ↓
food	PROG-*eat*-2.SG	*word-my*	*hear*-IM SG

while you are eating, listen to me!

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	OBJ	LOC	PRED
latagaea	eve	de- le- ta'a	evetida	ema- lo'	tele- 'o ↓
you dl	*sugarcane*	*eat*-CPL-2.DL	*sugarcane scraps*	*there*-AD	*throw away-* IM DL

after you dl *finish eating the sugarcane, throw* dl *away the scraps over there!*

Medial, identical subject + Interrogative:

OBJ	PRED	PRED
dote'na	do- lo- ta	i- s- u- pie ↓
food	*eat*-CPL-1.PL	*go*-IFUT-1.PL-INT

after we have eaten, shall we go?

PRED	OBJ	PRED
ni' folo-ka	g- aolegeva	fasakave eli- d- a- pie ↓
wash- 2.SG	*your-hair*	*comb* *make*-PAST-2.SG-INT

did you wash and comb your hair?

Medial, non-identical subject + Indicative:

OBJ	PRED	PRED
eve	d- am- i- ga-da	do- d- u- e ↓
sugarcane	*me-give*-3.SG-NI-*I*	*eat*-PAST-1.SG-IND

he gave me sugarcane, and I ate

PRED	LOC	PRED
ou' no'- ha-e- ga-ta	yo- 'a- vi'	a'- hei- g- un- e ↓
PROG- 3.SG-NI-*we*	*house-his*-IN	NEG-*go up*-FUT-1.PL-IND
sleep-		

while he is sleeping, we shall not go into his house

OBJ	PRED	OBJ	PRED
ba	do- d- i- ga-pi	age	hapei-d- a- e ↓
sweet potato	*eat*-PAST-3.SG-NI-*they*	*report*	*tell-* PAST-3.PL-IND

after he had eaten the sweet potatoes, they told him the news

OBJ	PRED	OBJ	PRED
hali- ti	poloti-s- an- aga-ta	bina	g- ami- g- un- e ↓
firewood-our	*split-* IFUT-2.SG-NI- *we*	*price*	*you-give*-FUT-1.PL-IND

after you split our firewood, we shall pay you

Medial, non-identical subject + Imperative:

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
game' yale	va'yu ne- s-a- ga-tapi	falaki-io ↓
fight people	PROG- 3.PL-NI-*you* pl	*hide-* IM PL
	arrive-	

the enemies are arriving, hide pl*!*

OBJ	PRED	OBJ	PRED
hagita	g- am- u- ga-ka	gavu	halaga hu-o ↓
knife	*you-give*-1.SG-NI-*you*	*grass*	*cut-* IM SG

I give you a knife, cut the grass!

Medial, non-identical subject + Interrogative:

SUBJ	LOC	OBJ	PRED
Foveno gayale-'a	hoya- ka- vi'	emu	de- s- i- ga-ka
Foveno pig- his	*garden-your*-IN	*ground*	*eat*-IFUT-3.SG-NI-*you*

PRED
hae- s- a- pie ↓
shoot-IFUT-2.SG-INT

when Foveno's pig roots up the ground in your garden, will you shoot it?

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	PRED
bade-di-ma'	ba	łap- am- i- ga-tapi	de- d- a- vie ↓
boy- my-PIV	*sweet potato*	*you* pl *give*-3.SG-NI-*you* pl	*eat*-PAST-2.PL-INT

did my boy give you pl *sweet potatoes, and did you* pl *eat?*

Dependent interrogative + Indicative:

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
a'i de- ma'	o- d- i- vi	a'- o- d- i- e ↓
that man-PIV	*come*-PAST-3.SG-INTC	NEG-*come*-PAST-3.SG-IND

did that man come or didn't he?

Real conditional + Medial, non-identical subject + Indicative:

LOC	PRED	SUBJ
guma- to'	va'yu hu-d- u- pa- to'	yo' aepa yale
village-AD	*arrive-* PAST-1.PL-PIV-RC	*house origin people*

OBJ	PRED	PRED
ba	l- am- i- ga-ta	do- d- un- e ↓
sweet potato	*us-give*-3.PL-NI-*we*	*eat*-PAST-1.PL-IND

when we arrived in the village, the inhabitants gave us sweet potatoes, and we ate

Real conditional + Medial, identical subject + Imperative:

SUBJ	PRED	OBJ
da-valu- di-magi	ne'- a- ma- to'	eve
my-friend-my-PL	PROG-*come* 3.PL-PIV-RC	*sugarcane*

PRED	PRED
eli- ka o- ka	p- ami- o ↓
take-2.SG *come*-2.SG	*them-give*-IM SG

as my friends are coming, bring sugarcane and give it to them!

Potential Conditional + Indicative:

TEMP	LOC	PRED	PRED
hemeti	Goloka-lo'	i- s- u- pa- bobo	g- agavei-g- un- e ↓
today	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-PC	*you-lead-* FUT-1.PL-IND

if we go to Goroka today, we shall take you along

Potential Conditional + Interrogative:

TEMP	LOC	PRED	PRED
hemeti	Goloka-lo'	i- s- a- pa- bobo	d- agavei-s- a- pie ↓
today	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-IFUT-2.SG-PIV-PC	*me-lead-* IFUT-2.SG-INT

if you go to Goroka today, shall you take me along?

Irreal Conditional Protasis + Apodosis:

TEMP	LOC	PRED	PRED
hemeti	Goloka-lo'	i- s- u- pa- tone hipana	g- agavei-sine ↓
today	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-IFUT-1.PL-PIV-IRM	*you-lead-* IRF

if we would go to Goroka today, we would take you along

SUBJ	TEMP	LOC	PRED
Ologuti yale	ega	Goloka-lo'	i- d- a- ma- tone hipana
Ologuti people	*yesterday*	*Goroka*-AD	*go*-PAST-3.PL-PIV-IRM

PRED
d- agavei-ne hine ↓
me-lead- IRF
if the Ologuti people had gone to Goroka yesterday, they would have taken me along

Motivational + Indicative:

TEMP	PRED	TEMP
henaga'a	bogo'e a'- e- s- u- ma- bose'	hemeti
later	*again* NEG-*come*-IFUT-1.SG-PIV-MOT	*today*

OBJ	PRED
a'i ge	ga- ha'-no- p-ou- e ↓
that word	*you-* -PROG- 1.SG-IND
	tell

because later I shall not come again, I am telling you that now

Motivational + Imperative:

SUBJ	LOC	OBJ	PRED
a'i gayale-ma'	hoya- tipi- vi'	emu	no- d- e- ma- bose'
that pig- PIV	*garden-your* pl-IN	*ground*	PROG-*eat*-3.SG-PIV-MOT

PRED
ha- eo ↓
shoot-IM PL
because that pig is rooting up the ground in your pl *garden, shoot* pl *it!*

Motivational + Interrogative:

SUBJ	LOC	OBJ	PRED
a'i gayale-ma'	hoya- ka- vi'	emu	do- d- i- ma- bose'
that pig- PIV	*garden-your*-IN	*ground*	*eat*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT

PRED

hae- s- a- pie ↓

shoot-IFUT-2.SG-INT

will you shoot that pig, because it rooted up the ground in your garden?

Purposive + Indicative:

OBJ	PRED	LOC	PRED
yaga	hae- s- u- pe'	yao- vi'	no'- u- n- e ↓
animal	*shoot*-IFUT-1.PL-ANT	*forest*-IN	PROG-*go*-1.PL-IND

we are going to the forest in order to shoot animals

Purposive + Interrogative:

OBJ	PRED	LOC	PRED
yaga	hae- s- a- me'	yao- vi'	ne'- v- a- vie ↓
animal	*shoot*-IFUT-2.PL-ANT	*forest*-IN	PROG-*go*-2.PL-INT

are you pl *going into the forest in order to shoot animals?*

Interrogative purposive + Indicative:

OBJ	PRED	LOC	PRED
da'- ouva- na	hae- s- a- me'	yao- vi'	ne'- v- a- e ↓
which-likeness-COMP	*shoot*-IFUT-2.PL-ANT	*forest*-IN	PROG-*go*-2.PL-IND

what to shoot are you pl *going into the forest?*

Purposive + Imperative:

OBJ	PRED	LOC	PRED
ba	gavi-s- a- me'	hoya- vi'	i- io ↓
sweet potato	*dig-* IFUT-2.PL-ANT	*garden*-IN	*go*-IM PL

go pl *to the garden to dig sweet potatoes!*

-gese' - Clause + Indicative:

PRED	SUBJ	PRED
go' eli-gese'	avaya	bolo-d- i- e
get day-gese'	*glow*	*put-* PAST-3.SG-IND

while it was going to get light, the glow of dawn appeared

Non-verbal + Indicative:

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
ma'i ege- mo	hagana	havi-d- u- e ↓
this banana-CON	*tasty*	*know*-PAST-1.SG-IND

I know that this banana is tasty

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
m- igopa	gagae' igopa-nope	no- s- un- e ↓
this-land	*your land*- NEG	PROG-*say*-1.PL-IND

we say that this is not your land

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
m- igopa-mo	gagae' igopa-vi	havi-ta lole no- s- un- e ↓
this-land- CON	*your land*- INTC	*know*-1.PL *two* PROG-*say*-1.PL-IND

we are doubting whether this is your land

The chaining of a dependent and an independent non-verbal clause into a complex sentence occurs mainly with double-question sentences. The interrogative marker will occur either with the dependent clause as conditional interrogative marker, or with the independent clause as real interrogative marker:

Non-verbal dependent interrogative + Non-verbal positive equational:

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
m- igopa-mo	gagae' igopa-vi	vato' de- ma' igopa-e' ↓
this-land- CON	*your land*- INTC	*another man*-PIV *land*- EQ

is this your land, or another man's land?

Non-verbal dependent positive equational + Non-verbal interrogative:

SUBJ	PRED	PRED
m- igopa-mo	gagae' igopa	vato' de- ma' igopa-vie ↓
this-land- CON	*your land*	*another man*-PIV *land*- INT

is this your land, or another man's land?

A sentence containing twelve dependent clauses and one independent clause, is given as example in the following, and for the sake of clearness, each clause is written in a separate line:

SUBJ	LOC	PRED
abade yuva- magi	yao- vinaga	hei- da
girl group-PL	*forest*-IN	*go up*-3.PL

the girls went up into the forest and...

OBJ	PRED
ha fusu	eligi- da
mushroom fusu	*break off*-3.PL

...collected fusu *mushrooms and...*

LOC	PRED
gu- pi- vi'	ei- da
netbag-their-IN	*push*-3.PL

...put them into their netbags and...

OBJ	PRED
hali	hale- le- da
firewood	*break up*-CPL-3.PL

...broke up firewood and...

PRED
ge age hi-da
converse- 3.PL

...talked and...

PRED
emi- da e- da
down-3.PL *come*-3.PL

...came down and...

OBJ	PRED
hali	bele-le- da
firewood	*put-* CPL-3.PL

...put down the firewood and...

OBJ	PRED
gu- pi	sei- da
netbag-their	*take off*-3.PL

...took off their netbags and...

PRED
bele-le- da
put- CPL-3.PL

...put them down and...

OBJ	PRED
ha eli- d- a- ma' ha- mo	akoupa hi-da b- ei- ma- to'
mushroom take-PAST-3.PL-PIV *mushroom*-CON	*sort out-* 3.PL *live*-3.PL-PIV-RC

...while they were sorting out the mushrooms they had gotten...

PRED
p- oubibi' h- i- ga-ni
*them- tiredness do-*3.SG-NI-*she*
...they became tired, and she...

SUBJ
legepa abade bogo p- agavei-na h- ei- ma' abade-mo
big girl one them-lead- 3.SG *go up-*3.SG-PIV *girl-* CON

PRED
ou' ha-e- ga-pi
sleep- 3.SG-NI-*they*
...one big girl which had taken them up, fell asleep, and they...

	LOC	PRED
legi'	a'i- lo'	p- ou' he-d- a- e ↓
truly	*that-*AD	*they-sleep-* PAST-3.PL-IND

...they all slept there

The reproduction of this sentence in one English sentence looks like this:

The girls went up into the forest, collected fusu *mushrooms and put them into their netbags, then they broke up firewood, talked, and came down, and put down the firewood, took their netbags off and put them down, and while they were sorting out the mushrooms they had collected, they became tired, and the one big girl which had taken them up, fell asleep, and so they all slept at that place.*

If the verb in a dependent clause is an impersonal verb, which as grammatical subject has a neutral "it", as is obvious from its final indicative forms, e.g.

lap- agekani-d- i- e *it made you* pl *forget,* or *forgetting*
you pl-*forget-* PAST-3.SG-IND *beset you* pl, i.e. *you* pl *forgot,*

the dependent verb carries often the PN marker of the "semantic" subject, in this case of the 2. person plural, and its form is adjusted to relate to the following clause:

BEN	PRED	PRED
dagae-se'	lap- agekani-ta	da-tele- d- a- e ↓
I- BEN	*you* pl-*forget-* 2.PL	*me-leave-*PAST-2.PL-IND

you forgot me, and left me

(cf. also morphology, 2.3.4.3)

Reciprocal actions, with the exception of those mentioned in 2.3.4.4 and 3.1.2.2, are usually expressed in a complex sentence with at least two clauses:

PRED	OBJ	PRED
da-beg- i- ga-da	agaea	begi-d- u- e ↓
me-beat-3.SG-NI-*I*	*him*	*beat*-PAST-1.SG-IND

he hit me, and I hit him, i.e. *we hit each other*

3.3.1.3 *Compound independent sentences*

A compound independent sentence consists of two or more independent clauses, or even sentences. Such compound sentences have no special morphological junctural features, but they have to be regarded as a close-knit unit because of semantic features, and the intonation pattern, with a fall at the end.

Compound sentences are not too frequent in Yagaria, and occur mainly with verbs of perception, or with quotes.
Examples:

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	PRED
nala'a-ma'	gayale	hao- d- i- e	a'- ago-d- u- e ↓
who- PIV	*pig*	*shoot*-PAST-3.SG-IND	NEG-*see*-PAST-1.SG-IND

I did not see who shot the pig

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	PRED
heipa'bade-ma'	gokole'	gumina eli-d- i- e	a'- ago-d- un- e ↓
which boy- PIV	*chicken*	*steal-* PAST-3.SG-IND	NEG-*see*-PAST-1.PL-IND

we did not see which boy stole the chicken

PRED	PRED	PRED
o- d- i- vi	a'- o- d- i- e	a'- havi-d- u- e ↓
come-PAST-3.SG-INTC	NEG-*come*-PAST-3.SG-IND	NEG-*hear*-PAST-1.SG-IND

I did not hear whether he came or not

PRED	PRED	OBJ
o- d- i- vi	a'- o- d- i- e	na- bo'
come-PAST-3.SG-INTC	NEG-*come*-PAST-3.SG-IND	*that-matter*

PRED
a'- havi-d- u- e ↓
NEG-*hear*-PAST-1.SG-IND

I did not hear whether he came or not

SUBJ	OBJ	PRED	LOC	PRED
agaea	ma- ge	no- s- i- e	ma- lo'	bei- g- u- e ↓
he	*this-word*	PROG-*say*-3.SG-IND	*this*-AD	*live*-FUT-1.SG-IND

he says: I shall stay here

Quote clauses can also be inserted into another clause, so the above compound sentence may be constructed as follows:

SUBJ	LOC	PRED	PRED
agaea	ma- lo'	bei- g- u- e	no- s- i- e ↓
he	*this*-AD	*live*-FUT-1.SG-IND	PROG-*say*-3.SG-IND

he says: I shall stay here

Note: It is also possible to regard this last construction as one clause, describing the inserted clause as filling the object slot (cf. 3.2.1.11), but in view of the close relation with the first quote construction listed above, the description as compound sentence is preferable.

3.3.2 Dependent sentences

Dependent sentences are complete utterances, and have also the intonational characteristics of sentences. They can, however, because of their structure and occurrence, not stand in isolation, and become unintelligible when taken out of their context.

3.3.2.1 *Sequence sentences*

This type of construction features an additional initial slot, which could be termed "sequence" slot. This slot may be occupied by the conjunction nagi *and then*, or by a dependent verb, verb phrase, or clause. By this sequence conjunction the otherwise independent sentence is linked to the preceding sentence, and becomes dependent on it.

To illustrate sequence sentences, in the following always two sentences are presented, of which the second in line occurs with the sequence conjunction, and therefore depends on the preceding one.

SENT

a'i gayale-ma' hoya- di-vi' emu no- d- e- ga-da
that pig- PIV *garden-my-*IN *ground* PROG-*eat*-3.SG-NI-*I*

(SENT) SEQ | SENT

u- da hao- d- u- e ↓ | nagi | gayale avo- 'a- ma'
go-1.SG *shoot*-PAST-1.SG-IND | *and then* | *pig* *father-his*-PIV

(SENT)

o- na ougegesa ge hu- na da-to- d- i- e ↓
come-3.SG *big* *word say*-3.SG *me-put*-PAST-3.SG-IND

While that pig was rooting up the ground in my garden, I went and shot it. And then the owner of the pig came and abused me very much.

Verbs and verbal constructions occurring in the sequence slot, usually repeat the action last described in the preceding sentence. If the last sentence ends with a quotation of speech, usually the verb hu- *to say,* or the expression nage hu- *say that* occurs in the sequence slot. Those verbs or verbal expressions link the following sentence to the preceding one. In the following little story every sentence after the first one has some verbal construction in the sequence slot, and is thereby linked to the sentence preceding it. The end of each sentence is marked by an arrowhead ↓, and the sequence slot is separated from the rest of the sentence by a single line.

SENT

yale bogo'a-magi ma- ge hi- d- a- e a'i gayale-ma'
people some- PL *this-word say*-PAST-3.PL-IND *that pig-* PIV

(SENT)

hoya- ka- vi' emu no- d- e- ma- bose' ha- o ↓
garden-your-IN *ground* PROG-*eat*-3.SG-PIV-MOT *shoot*-IM SG

SEQ | SENT

na- ge h- a- ga-da | havu yagei-da gayale hao- d- u- e ↓
that-word say-3.PL-NI-*I* | *bow pull* 1.SG *pig* *shoot*-PAST-1.SG-IND

SEQ | SENT

no'- h- ao- ga-ni | gayale avo- 'a- ma' o- na ougegesa
PROG-*shoot*-1.SG-NI-*he* | *pig* *father-his*-PIV *come*-3.SG *big*

(SENT)

ge hu- na da-to- na ma- ge da-hapei-d- i- e
word say-3.SG *me-put*-3.SG *this-word me-tell-* PAST-3.SG-IND

(SENT) SEQ

feipa ve- ka gagaea eiva- ka d- o ↓ h- i- ga-da
bad *man*-SG *you* *faeces-your* *eat*-IM SG *say*-3.SG-NI-*I*

SENT

da-hei' vei-da lu- toti' begi-s- u- me' hu-d- u- e ↓
I- angry- 1.SG *axe*-INST *beat*-IFUT-1.SG-ANT *do*-PAST-1.SG-IND

SEQ SENT

na- hu-da no- su-da ao- da gasalupao-da igopa-lo'
that-do-1.SG PROG-*do*-1.SG *step*-1.SG *slip-* 1.SG *land-* AD

(SENT)

d-agotav-ou- ga-pi yo' aepa yale lu- di
I-fall- 1.SG-NI-*they* *house* *origin* *people* *axe-my*

(SENT)

d- afele- d- a- e ↓
me-take away-PAST-3.PL-IND

Some people said: Since that pig is rooting up the ground in your garden, shoot it! When they said so, I pulled my bow and shot the pig. As I was shooting, the owner of the pig came and abused me terribly, and said to me: You bad man, eat your shit! As he said that, I got angry and was going to hit him with the axe. While I was about to do that, I slipped and fell to the ground, and the village people took away my axe from me.

3.3.2.2 *Dependent parts of speech*

In speech, especially in conversations, constructions from lower levels, e.g. words or phrases, may, by an upwards shift, occur as sentences.

Words may occur as exclamations, i.e. vocatives, proper names, or other exclamation words:

ve- di-ma- o ↓ *friend!*
man-my-PIV-VOC

avo ↓ *father!*
father

aku- o ↓ *friend!*
friend-VOC

Asevali-o ↓ *Asevali!*
Asevali-VOC

Note: proper names more often occur in a phrase, e.g.

de Asevali ↓ or de Asevali-o ↓ *Asevali!*
man Asevali *man* Asevali-VOC

ovuo ↓ *hey!*

ayo ↓ *hey!*

legi-ke ↓ *true! amen!*
true-word

gasu-ge ↓ *(it is a) lie!*
lie- word

Words and phrases may occur as sentences in short responses:

ega i- s- a- pie ↓ he ↓
tomorrow go-IFUT-2.SG-INT *yes*
will you go tomorrow? yes

dote'na de- d- a- vie ↓ e'e ↓
food eat-PAST-2.PL-INT *no*
have you pl *eaten? no*

yava' gumina eli-d- a- e ↓ legi-pie ↓ legi-ke ↓
money steal- PAST-3.PL-IND *true*-INT *true-word*
they stole the money truly? yes, truly

nala'a o- d- i- e ↓ bade-di-ma' ↓
who come-PAST-3.SG-IND *boy- my*-PIV
who came? my son

heipa-to' hae- d- a- e ↓ yao- vinaga ↓
which-AD *sleep*-PAST-2.PL-IND *forest*-IN
where did you sleep? in the forest

da'- ouva- na bina fei-d- an- e ↓ nupa gukae ↓
which-likeness-COMP *buy-* PAST-2.SG-IND *black loincloth*
what did you buy? a black loincloth

heipa'a-lo' bei- d- an- e ↓ d- agana- di-ma' yo- pi' ↓
which- AD *live*-PAST-2.SG-IND *my-younger brother-my*-PIV *house*-IN
where did you stay? in the house of my younger brother

Also, dependent clauses may occur as sentences in speech when the context is understood.

da'- vitane gei eli- d- i- e ↓
which-time sickness take-PAST-3.SG-IND

yo- to' va'yu hu-lo- na ↓
house-AD *arrive-* CPL-3.SG
when did he get sick? after he arrived home

heipa'a-lo' bade yuva p- ago-d- an- e ↓
which- AD *boy group them-see*-PAST-2.SG-IND

ni- to' bei- d- a- ma- to' ↓
water-AD *live*-PAST-3.PL-PIV-RC
where did you see the boys? when they stayed at the water

da'- ouva gava' hu-ka gayale hao- d- an- e ↓
which-likeness kind do-2.SG *pig shoot*-PAST-2.SG-IND

hoya- di-vi' emu do- d- i- ma- bose' ↓
garden-my-IN *ground eat*-PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT
why did you shoot the pig? because it rooted up the ground in my garden

o- d- i- vi a'- o- d- i- e ↓ o- d- i- vi ↓
come-PAST-3.SG-INTC NEG-*come*-PAST-3.SG-IND *come*-PAST-3.SG-INTC
did he come or not? did he come, or? i.e. *I do not know*

3.3.2.3 *Addition sentences*

Addition sentences consist of words, phrases, or dependent clauses, which are, as an afterthought or clarification of the preceding, or as additional information, added after the completion of a sentence. Structurally, they could be explained as belonging into a slot of the preceding sentence, or a slot of the last clause of the preceding sentence, into which they would be edited in written form.

begi-na gini to-d- i- e ↓ lu- toti' ↓
beat-3.SG *kill-* PAST-3.SG-IND *axe*-INST
He hit and killed him. With an axe

olega giape de- ma' gale e- ga-ta ago-d- un- e ↓
two days ago kiap man-PIV *car come* 3.SG-NI-*we see*-PAST-1.PL-IND

Folapi-gayaga ↓
Folapi-AD
The day before yesterday the kiap's car came, and we saw it. AT Folapi.

hiya-ba' emi- na o- na tikao- na no'- la-t- e- ga-ni
fog- PIV *down*-3.SG *come*-3.SG *enshroud*-3.SG PROG-*us-put*-3.SG-NI-*it*

go' ei-mo no'- i- ga-ta hali gao- ta hava'a
rain- ACT PROG-*go* 3.SG-NI-*we* *fire burn*-1.PL *doing nothing*

bei-d- un- e ↓ tava gavu yo- pi' ↓
sit-PAST-1.PL-IND *old bush house*-IN
While the fog was coming down and enshrouding us, and it was going on raining for a long time, we lit a fire and sat there without doing anything. In the old shelter.

hoya neva-lo' yu'yu yava bogo hano- d- i- e ↓
garden edge-AD yu-yuna *tree one exist*-PAST-3.SG-IND

laga- 'a haga' no'- la-hei-te' yava ↓
fruit-its tasty PROG-*us-do-* QD *tree*
At the edge of the garden is a yu'yuna *tree. A tree the fruit of which is tasty to us.*

Fusa yale o ne'- hag-a- ga-da p- ago-d- u- e ↓
Fusa people PROG- 3.PL-NI-*I* *them-see*-PAST-1.SG-IND
dance-

olega guma- pi- lo' va'yu hu-lo- da ↓
two days ago village-their-AD *arrive-* CPL-1.SG
I saw the Fusa people while they were dancing. After arriving, two days ago, at their village.

ega dagae' gayale bogo hao- d- i- e ↓
yesterday my pig one shoot-PAST-3.SG-IND

hoya- 'a- vi' emu no- d- e- ga-ni ↓
garden-his-IN *ground* PROG-*eat*-3.SG-NI-*it*
Yesterday he shot a pig of mine. While it was rooting up the ground in his garden.

hoya- viti' ba eli- s- u- pe' gavu no'- ao-n- e ↓
garden-EL *sweet potato take*-IFUT-1.PL-ANT PROG- 1.PL-IND
search-

ougegesa yege no'- l- e- ma- bose' ↓
big sun PROG-*burn*-3.SG-PIV-MOT
We are searching in vain to get sweet potatoes out of the garden. Because the sun is shining very much.

a'i balasini a- de- s- un- e- ge' bosi- na
that medicine NEG-*eat*-IFUT-1.PL-IND-ANT *refuse*-3.SG

la-to- d- i- e ↓ do- lo- ta fili-te'na-e' ↓
us-put-PAST-3.SG-IND *eat*-CPL-1.PL *die*- GN- BEN
He forbade us to take that medicine. For after taking it, we might die.

3.3.2.4 *Interrupted sentence*

If somebody is interrupted in what he is saying, or breaks off for any other reason, there remains an incomplete sentence in which also the intonation pattern is disrupted and therefore incomplete.

ougegesa go' ei-d- i- ma- bose' yo- pi' hali gao- ta ..... ↓
big rain- PAST-3.SG-PIV-MOT *house*-IN *fire burn*-1.PL
because it was raining heavily, we lit a fire in the house, and....

It may happen, however, though rarely, that a dependent clause voluntarily is left without a following final clause. But that is done only if something ought to follow which is generally understood or known, and therefore does not have to be expressed.
Example:

ega dete' Nipinaga yale ma- lo' a- ga-ta ↓
tomorrow morning Nipinaga people this-AD *come* 3.PL-NI-*we*
tomorrow morning the Nipinaga people will come here, and we...

The people referred to as anticipated subject 1. person plural which then does not follow, know what they will do, since they may have talked about it previously, or what they will do is a kind of customary action.

3.4 *HIGHER LEVELS*

The description of any level above sentence is beyond the objective of this grammar. It should be mentioned here, however, that most probably two more levels above sentence level could be stated, but it would require further study to describe them appropriately.

In narratives very long sentences do occur, consisting of a chain of a virtually unlimited number of dependent clauses followed by a final independent clause. (cf. 3.3.2.1) Other NAN languages of New Guinea show morphological or syntactical features which suggest that such long chains may be treated as paragraphs, and may be subdivided into "sentences"[44]. So far no structural evidence has been established for

Yagaria which would justify such a segmentation. If further study should reveal that such structural features do exist, a redescription of the Yagaria sentence pattern would be necessary.

NOTES

1. cf. Wurm 1961, Wurm 1964, McElhanon & Voorhoeve 1970, Wurm 1972.

2. cf. Wurm 1961.

3. Note - only a selection of villages has been indicated on the map.

4. cf. Wurm and Laycock 1961, esp. p. 137

5. cf. Haiman, unpublished.

6. Renck, 1967

7. Before long, quite a few New Guinean people might want to read what has been written and published about their languages, cf. Laycock, 1969.

8. cf. Renck, 1967, also for further details on the phonology in general.

9. [ʔk] has not been observed. This is due to morphophonemic change of [ʔg] to [k] (see Section 1.2).

10. The occurrence of [k] being phonemically either /k/ or /g/ is discussed extensively in Renck, 1967, pp. 29-32.

11. Previously described as voiced heterorganic affricate, consisting of velar stop followed by alveolar lateral, cf. Renck, 1967, p. 35.

12. For details, cf. Renck, 1967, pp. 40 ff.

13. For /b/ and /d/, see Section 1.1.1.

14. For the latter, cf. Renck, 1967, p. 21, and note 4.

15. Forthcoming.

16. In most other dialects but Move, the dual and plural show only two persons each, ego and non-ego.

17. There are no gender differences in Yagaria.

18. The form of the 2. person dual and plural may suggest that they developed as in-between forms out of the 1. and 3. person. There is sometimes ambiguity in the affixed forms (cf. 2.1.1.21).

19. e.g. dagae-ma- da *I myself* agae-ma- ko' *only he*
I- PIV-*I* *he-* PIV-RE

20. The forms for the 2. and 3. persons plural do not occur.

21. The allomorph -'i- occurs only with i'ila'a *his mother* (instead of * i'ala'a).

22. For clitic -'na or rather -na, cf. 2.1.2.16.

23. An example for its occurrence on its own, is fagi-ti' *from afar*
far- AB

24. Most probably this is the same morpheme as the indicative marker with verbs (cf. 2.3.2.2).

25. The marker -ka indicating singularity, has been found only occurring with the noun ve *man* : a'i ve- ka-ma' *that man*
that man-SG-PIV

26. There is most probably a relation between this marker and the morpheme -gi described as comitative marker, cf. 2.1.2.7.

27. For a third allomorph, -'ago', cf. 2.1.3.13.

28. Attributive adjuncts usually precede the noun, whereas predicative adjuncts (which sometimes may be interpreted as nouns) follow the noun (cf. 3.1.1.13.1 and 3.1.1.16).

29. It could of course be argued that in some instances the derivation process moved the other way, so that nouns may have been derived from adjectives.

30. For non-verbal clauses without the equation marker, cf. 3.2.1.2.

31. The same feature occurring in Bena-Bena, has been described by R. Young as "Monofocal and polyfocal stem alternation" (cf. Young 1964 and 1971).

32. Described by Young for Bena-Bena as "periphrastic verb complex" (Young 1964 and 1971), and by Lang for Enga as "predication" (Lang 1971).

33. The direct chaining of verb stems is a very rare feature in Yagaria, and occurs virtually only with the verbs **bolo-** *to put* and **to-** *to put* (animates).

34. In which **-no** could alternatively be described as consisting of Present tense **(-ø)** plus Person-Number **(-n)** and Imperative mood **(-o)**.

35. For transition consonants in Yagaria, cf. Renck 1967, pp. 23-25.

36. Final **-e** of this morpheme is probably the Indicative marker.

37. Note: The surface structure of the language leads us to speak of two objects, since both are the same morphologically and syntactically (cf. also 2.3.4.22). A deep structure analysis would reveal two different entities which could be termed "object" and "recipient". But that would go beyond the framework of this grammar.

38. To be distinguished from **ageta gani-** *to be deaf*.

39. Phillips 1973, pp. 178 ff.

40. Young 1964, pp. 78 ff, and 1971, pp. 12 ff.

41. Lang 1971, pp. 81 ff and 117 ff.

42. Note: Adjunct-auxiliary compound verbs are not regarded as phrases, but as verb units.

43. cf. Longacre pp. 1 ff.

44. cf. Longacre pp. 27 ff., Scott p. 5.

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